

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

VOL. XV, No. 2

FEBRUARY, 1926

TOTAL No. 116

EDITORIAL COMMENT

New-Old Municipal Research

Many people have the notion that municipal research is a comparatively new thing. In this they are badly mistaken. Thomas Madox discoursed on the difficulties of the subject in 1726, just two centuries ago. And his words are not very cheering to present-day researchers. For says he:

Whoso desireth to discourse in a proper manner concerning corporated towns and communities, must take in a great variety of matter and should be allowed a great deal of time and preparation. The subject is extensive and difficult.

More evidence, perhaps, that "there is nothing new under the sun." If the "great variety of matter" connected with city government in 1726 required a great deal of time and preparation in order to be able to discourse on it properly, what must the intricacies and ramifications of the present-day city government require of the researcher who essays to write helpful memoranda on municipal problems? A mere contemplation of the task leaves one flabbergasted.

✱

Long-Time Financial Programs for City Governments

Budget making has been emphasized in connection with the financial management of city governments for some fifteen or twenty years. At the present time, the annual planning of municipal finances is generally

regarded by city authorities as being necessary to businesslike administration; and such planning, more or less satisfactory in character, has become an established practice in nearly all American cities. However, budget planning does not properly extend beyond a year. The main reasons for this are that the budget is the plan for definite action on the part of the city council in making the annual appropriation of funds, and that it is the basis for the administrative work program to be applied during the fiscal year in carrying on the city government.

But this does not mean that the years immediately ahead of the budget period should receive no thought on the part of the city authorities and should be left entirely to the "fortuitous concatenation of circumstances." This is almost as bad from a business standpoint as not to plan for the year following the present. The sooner city authorities generally come to appreciate this fact the better it will be for the citizens and taxpayers of municipalities.

A financial program—not a budget—can and should be made for each city government covering five or ten years ahead, preferably ten years in the case of large cities. Such program should be adopted by the city council subject to whatever modifications may seem

necessary when the budget is prepared at the beginning of each fiscal year. The program should be modified throughout whenever unusual or unforeseen conditions arise that warrant changes and it should be extended a year at each annual budget making.

A beginning has already been made in the preparation of long-time financial programs for city governments. We are publishing in this issue of the REVIEW an article by C. E. Rightor describing Detroit's ten-year financial program and telling how it was prepared. A few other cities have prepared such programs, but none perhaps so complete as the Detroit program.

*

National Associations On December 28-31
Hold Meetings a number of national
in New York associations met in New York City, the meeting places being Columbia University, the Pennsylvania and McAlpin hotels, and the Town Hall. Among these associations were the following: American Economic Association, American Statistical Association, American Farm Economic Association, American Association for Labor Legislation, American Association of University Instructors in Accounting, National Community Center Association, American Sociological Society, and American Political Science Association. Special programs were given by the several associations, and many joint meetings were held to discuss subjects of common interest.

The writer was able to attend a few of the meetings of the American Political Science Association. This association conducted round table meetings on the mornings of its three-day session. These meetings were similar to those of the National Conference on the Science of Politics; in fact, some of them were a continuation of the Conference meetings held in September and were conducted in practically

the same manner. There were eight round tables on the following subjects: administration of criminal justice, comparative government, international law, municipal administration, national administration, political parties, public finance, and public opinion. The afternoon and evening meetings were devoted to discussions of the teaching of political science, regional planning, growth of international law, and problems of method in political science. At the annual business meeting, Charles A. Beard was elected president of the association for the coming year. Dr. Beard succeeded Charles E. Merriam in this capacity.

*

Approaching Politics
as a Science

Is it possible to apply the scientific method to politics? Arnold

Bennett Hall says it is in his article on "The Third Conference on the Science of Politics," which we are publishing in this issue of the REVIEW. Can politics be raised to the status of a science? Professor Hall also answers this in the affirmative. He believes that the Conference is the means by which this can be done. As a director and one of the prime movers of the Conference, he already sees some concrete results from its work and he believes that it should be continued on its present basis if it can be financed.

There is, however, another point of view, and a widely divergent one, on the value of the Conference on the Science of Politics. This is expressed by many members of the round table groups. We hope to publish in the next issue of the REVIEW an article setting forth this viewpoint.

*

Biennial Legislative
Sessions Proposed
in New York

Governor Smith in his annual message to the New York legislature of 1926 proposed that a constitutional amendment be enacted

providing for biennial sessions of the legislature in the odd numbered years, with the modification, however, that in the even numbered years the legislature should meet for the sole purpose of passing appropriations for the support of the state government. Under this plan the members of the senate would be elected for four years and the members of the assembly for two years. In support of his proposal, Governor Smith says:

This will give the legislature time for thought and give the state an opportunity to give a reasonable trial to a new statute before it is hacked to pieces by a succeeding legislature—sometimes even before it is a year old. It will further compel at least every second year the full thought of the legislature upon the important function of managing the fiscal and related affairs of the state.

In addition to this proposal, Governor Smith renewed his recommendation for constitutional changes to provide an executive budget system and a four-year term for the governor, the governor to be elected midway between the presidential elections.

Governor Smith's proposal with reference to the legislature has already stimulated considerable comment on the part of the members of that body. Some have declared that it was wise to go even further than the governor had suggested. They have proposed that the biennial sessions should be limited to 60 days and that the "split session plan" followed in California should be adopted. During the first month bills would be introduced and no other business transacted. Then adjournment would be taken for one month, during which time the standing committees would give preliminary consideration to the measures introduced and hold public hearings on them. The legislature would then reconvene for a month to hear the reports of the committees and to take action on all

bills. It is unlikely, however, that any definite action will be taken on these proposals, especially as they relate to the sessions and procedure of the legislature.

*

Final Election
Returns from
Cleveland

The final election returns from Cleveland show that under the P. R. election on November 3 only three councilmen out of the 25 were elected on first votes. These were Finkle and Fleming from the third district and Sulzmann from the fourth district. Ten votes, and in some districts even more votes, were distributed before all the places were filled. The councilmen as finally elected were Witt, Michell, Schooley, Rieder, Gallagher, Gibbons, and Mitchel from the first district; Pettrash, Roberts, Orlikowski, Kennedy, and Sprosty from the second district; Finkle, Fleming, Bronstrup, McGinty, Wing, and Mihelich from the third district; Sulzmann, Marshall, Hatton, Potter, Green, Sanders, and Goldman from the fourth district. These members of the council were chosen from the different districts in the order named above. The names of the members indicate a wide representation from a racial standpoint. This, however, may have no significance when related to the population of the city.

*

Proposed State
Reorganization
in New Jersey

The Bright investigating committee of New Jersey has sent a report to the legislature together with a number of bills proposing a reorganization and consolidation of the state departments and commissions. This committee recommends that 96 departments, boards and commissions be reduced, through elimination or merger, to 17 departments, headed in most cases by a single director. The direc-

tors of the departments are to constitute a governor's cabinet.

The governor is to be solely responsible for the preparation of the state budget and the present budget commission is to be abolished. The state house commission is to be denied the power any longer to transfer funds from one account to another. A department of finance, including the treasury, taxes and assessments, and public pensions, is to be established. It is to be headed by the state treasurer. The state purchasing system is to be completely reorganized.

The state highway commission is to be abolished and a department of public works created, which will supervise all highway construction and maintenance, as well as bridge and tunnel work. The motor vehicle work and the state police are to be combined under a department of public safety. All license boards, except the bar examiners, are to be handed over to the department of civil service and registration. The board of control and the department of institutions and agencies are to be wiped out and the governor is to appoint a director of welfare to take charge of the work at \$12,000 a year. The board of commerce and navigation and the port of New York authority are to be abolished and their work placed in a department of commerce with a single director. The department of parks and natural resources is to take the place of a dozen or more boards, including the board of conservation and development. The board of education is retained, but it is to be merely advisory

to the director of education. The same position is to be occupied by the board of health in its relation to the director of health.

✱

Traffic Rules
We Might Heed

There has come to
us from the Orient—
on good authority

we are assured—a set of traffic rules, especially applicable to automobilists. These rules, we understand, are printed on a poster and are widely distributed by the traffic authorities of Tokyo. The poster is headed, "Rules of the Road in Japan," and this is the way it runs:

At the rise of the hand of policeman, stop rapidly. Do not pass him by or otherwise disrespect him.

When a passenger of the foot hove in sight, tootle the horn trumpet to him melodiously at first. If he still obstacles your passage, tootle him with vigor and express by word of the mouth the warning, "Hi, hi."

Beware of the wandering horse, that he shall not take fright as you pass him. Do not explode the exhaust box at him. Go soothingly by, or stop by the roadside till he pass away.

Give big space to the festive dog that make sport in the roadway. Avoid entanglement of dog with your spokewheels.

Go soothingly on the grease-mud, as there lurk the skid demon. Press the brake of the foot as you roll around the corners to save collapse and tie-up.

As a specimen of Japanese-English this is almost too good to be true. One cannot believe that it is really an official pronunciamiento. However, the advice to automobile drivers is good and worth heeding here as well as in Japan.

THE SOCIAL OBJECTIVE IN REGIONAL PLANNING¹

BY THOMAS ADAMS

"The great need for regional planning today arises from the fact that as urban regions expand you have, not small intensive areas of bad growth, but widely extended areas, suffering congestion and unhealthy social conditions." :: :: :: :: :: ::

WASHINGTON affords us a very good example of the need of regional planning as distinct from city planning. The capital city is the only one in this country that was planned from the beginning, but the area of urban growth has now expanded beyond the limits of the area that was planned by L'Enfant and in the absence of provision for planning the extension of the city, haphazard development is taking place in the suburbs out of keeping with the orderly and dignified arrangement of streets and buildings in the planned area of the city.

OPPORTUNITIES OF REGIONAL PLANNING IN DEALING WITH UNDEVELOPED AREAS

One advantage of regional planning is that it deals more largely than city planning with areas that are still undeveloped. In these areas it is possible to prevent what is so difficult and so expensive to cure in the developed areas of cities. Plans for undeveloped areas are less hampered by existing conditions and vested interests that offer great resistance to change. In dealing with virgin territory, we have full responsibility for what happens and cannot escape this responsibility by blaming past generations for bad conditions.

¹Report of an address delivered by Mr. Adams to the annual meeting of the National Municipal League, Pittsburgh, November 18, 1925.

Having witnessed the evils of congestion, we can prevent their recurrence where new growth is taking place. We pride ourselves on having greater knowledge than our forefathers of what is needed to make a city more efficient, healthy and beautiful. If we can justly claim this knowledge, we should be able intelligently to plan and control the development of the areas that are still unbuilt upon or only now in the course of development. In the Regional Plan we are able to extend our vision and our opportunities applying the art of planning to unbuilt-upon land. But in spite of having these opportunities, we may well ask whether men are doing better than their forefathers have done and whether what they are creating today is going to be subject to less criticism in the future than the things they now criticize as the failures of past generations. Indeed, we may even ask if there are not more careless methods and lower standards being applied to the regulation of new urban growth in present as compared with former times, notwithstanding the experience gained in recent decades in the art and science of planning.

It is necessary for us to realize that regional planning gives us the opportunity of applying measures of prevention to undeveloped areas because of the more limited opportunities for putting forward proposals dealing with

the established evils in built-up portions of the city.

Regional planning, like city planning, may be described very briefly as a method of giving intelligent guidance to future growth of the city. Under modern conditions of urban growth we can no longer give effective guidance with sole regard to areas within the arbitrary boundaries fixed for purposes of local government. These boundaries have a certain meaning from a political point of view, but have little meaning from the point of view of the physical extension or the economic growth of the community; hence, in order to understand the problems of growth in the city, we must have regard, in our surveys and plans, to all the suburban growth extending from or related to the city. This is particularly so in great metropolitan areas where the mother city has overflowed into corridors of urban development or into satellite towns along the railroads which converge upon it.

IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL FACTORS IN REGIONAL PLANNING

Governor Alfred E. Smith has said, in reference to regional planning in New York State, "that the planning of communities and the planning of the state is probably the greatest undertaking we have before us." He has recognized the importance of having the right social objective in regional planning, and is interested more in securing the well-being of the citizens than in any technical perfection in the art of laying out cities.

Pittsburgh, as a center of industry, inspires one to place emphasis on the importance of the economic and social factors in the development of industrial regions. Like New York, the physical conditions of the site of Pittsburgh create enormous difficulties in securing a

well-balanced expansion in its environs and the relief of congestion in its central business section. But topographical difficulties can always be overcome by the skill of the engineer, and the hills, valleys and rivers that seem to obstruct growth can be made to promote rather than retard healthy spreading out of the city, and are contributory factors in making it beautiful.

When we inquire into the realities that lie at the basis of civic growth we find that the physical difficulties are apt to be used as an excuse for persistence in following the wrong social objective. If our purpose in regional and city planning is to increase profit-making in land values without regard to true economic standards or the general well-being, many of the existing conditions of growth can be justified as sound. But profit-making in land values which is based on congestion, overcrowding or any kind of unhealthy conditions, is not only destructive of human welfare, but is economically unsound in the interest of ownership of property in the long run.

Social conditions in the industrial centers of modern nations are the most disappointing features of the age in which we live. In the development of industry, in the building of beautiful buildings, in education, and in sanitation, this country has surpassed other nations. But in the development of the social organization of its industrial centers and in the solution of its housing problems it has not achieved more than other countries.

It is open to question whether the gains of modern science in matters connected with public health, of costly municipal improvements, and of public instruction in the schools have not more than counterbalanced losses due to the unprecedented congestion, the haphazard distribution of the population, the land wastes, and the failure of

modern nations to house their industrial workers.

Two features may be recognized as expressing in a special way the growth of Pittsburgh. It is known for its rapid industrial growth, on the one hand, and for the public munificence of its citizens, on the other hand. In these two things it occupies a high place amongst industrial communities.

OPPORTUNITIES IN PITTSBURGH

It is in cities like Pittsburgh that the greatest opportunity exists to demonstrate the social and economic value of regional planning. We only begin to see the real evils that come from congestion and defective housing conditions when cities become large. That which can be endured in small measure, like the poverty and ugliness of some districts in the moderate sized industrial community, will not be bearable in the large measure when it spreads over greater urban regions in the future. The future of Pittsburgh lies not so much in creating wealth, but in keeping what it creates. A high standard of civic life and civilized well-being is not possible unless the population is able to hold the wealth it creates and the intelligence and leadership it develops through the possession of that wealth.

Pittsburgh has shown its recognition of the value of regional planning. Its citizens have shown that they have a worthy passion to make their city more efficient and more beautiful. But the test of their planning is not in the making of the plans, but in putting them into effect. The greatest task before Pittsburgh is to engender the will and to obtain the legal power to carry out the ideals of its citizens. Here, in Pittsburgh, is the center of the great industry that converted the riches of the Pennsylvania coal regions into the threads of steel that spread all over the country, and simultaneously cre-

ated the wealth of men like Carnegie, who out of his munificence has returned great benefactions to the city.

EXAMPLES FROM HISTORY

It is interesting to recall from our reading of the history of cities that the last period in the world's history when the creation and improvement of great cities became a passion was in that Graeco-Roman time when Rome was the capital of the world. We find then that the Roman genius for organization was applied to city building. Side by side with magnificence of civic centers and wide processional ways there were neglected social conditions. Men of great wealth gave large sums of money for the creation of public institutions and city beautification.

In his recent book Mr. H. V. Lanchester quotes the late Samuel Dill regarding the munificence of Pliny and other great Roman citizens. Pliny gave \$45,000 for the foundation of a public library in his native town, and an annual endowment of \$4,000 to maintain it, also offering one-third of the expense of the high school.

We read in the newspapers of today about the opinions of leading citizens regarding the need for improved home conditions. It is interesting to note how two thousand years ago money was given by Roman citizens to encourage boys to be kept under the protection of home influence, and to stimulate the interest of parents in education. One of the ways suggested to do this was to make them lovers of their mother city. Civic ardor was a religion, and men gave themselves unstintedly without pay to the service of the city as their home. Much of the beauty of these cities was attained, by private munificence and not by public expenditures.

We are told that on the rebuilding of the Great Hall in Pompeii in 3 B.C., Holconius Rufus and Holconius Celer

defrayed the expense of the crypt, the tribunals, and the whole space for the spectators. Altogether it is calculated that Pliny must have given a sum of more than \$400,000 to libraries, school endowments, and children's aid. Herodes Atticus gave even more liberally to temples, theaters, bridges, markets and other public improvements.

As cities became less attractive and citizens less inspired with the civic life, civilization seemed to make less progress. Thus with the break-up of the Roman Empire and the expansion of the Teutonic peoples, cities became distasteful and agricultural development the chief interest of the people. Through all these periods, whether in the days of imperial Rome or in the Middle Ages, there was the same lack of care for the quarters of the poor that finally became an element in the decay of ancient and medieval civilizations.

UNBALANCED BUILDING GROWTH

The last time I came to Pittsburgh was in 1911. I was attending a conference in Philadelphia, the first International Planning Conference in this country, and I made a trip, which began with Baltimore, and then took me on to Washington, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Toronto, Montreal, Boston and New York. I completed on that journey a very superficial inspection of most of the intensively developed regions in this country. On that occasion I remember that I had the temerity to offer the suggestion that while high buildings had apparently become an essential part of American life, the failure was not in permitting buildings to be erected of too great a height, but in not seeing that there was a proper ratio between the height of the buildings and the spaces surrounding them. I ventured also to suggest that fundamentally this problem of planning was not

mainly a problem of transportation and transit, or of the "city beautiful," but a problem of the social life of the people; and that unless you solved that problem of the environment of the home, and the present unbalanced distribution of the population, you would fail in solving the problem of the city. One has to be somewhat bold to place emphasis on this question. Last year at the meeting of the National Municipal League, I dealt with the question of the transportation and transit for New York, on which it is possible to arouse more interest than on questions related to living conditions. The sources of the difficulties which confront us in connection with both the problems of means of communication and housing are the same. They consist of congested and unbalanced building growth in the development of cities.

THE PROBLEM OF CONGESTION IN CITIES

As you look down the list of projects with which we are dealing in our regional planning in New York you will find that they come under the main heads of transportation, transit, traffic, zoning (control of the heights, uses and densities of buildings), parks, park systems, playgrounds, housing, civic centers and the display and arrangement of buildings. Let us consider what are some of the problems and improvements needed in connection with these things. If you will look up a paper on transportation by Samuel Rea, formerly President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, you will find that he emphasizes the fact that the difficulty which confronts the railways is not the question of getting more railroad lines, but the questions of the efficient operation of railway terminals and the improvement of means of distribution at their points of concentration. In other words, you

will find that overcrowding in the central areas of cities presents the greatest difficulty in improving the efficiency of the means of transportation.

The same applies to transit. What is transit? It is the means used to carry the worker from his place of work to his place of residence. Rapid transit is the modern method of overcoming friction of space between home and factory or office. It is a necessity to enable us to overcome effects of congestion or perhaps temporarily to relieve congestion. In the long run, however, it may itself promote congestion as the result of excessive centralization of business activities coupled with scattered suburban distribution of residential areas. In New York, with the situation as it now is, it has to be recognized that many more facilities for transit are required so as to enable the city to function without waste and inefficiency. In any plans that are designed to improve conditions in established communities we must go on following trends of growth based on custom, on the existence of vested interests and perhaps on false economic considerations, even if these trends do not follow what we regard as a healthy and logical system of growth. We must, therefore, continue to carry people on transit lines more than it would be necessary under ideal conditions of distribution of population and industry.

What is zoning? The main purpose of zoning has been to try and correct the evils caused by the forms of congestion in building development. Zoning was established in New York to overcome the difficulties created by excessive heights of buildings. It had for its purpose the establishment of maximum heights in relation to street widths, the restriction of density or area of lots that could be occupied by

buildings and the regulation of the uses to which buildings could be put in different situations.

What is the principal problem in Pittsburgh and New York in regard to parks and playgrounds? Is it not simply that there has been, in a land where there is unlimited space for all purposes, an intensity of building growth in the central areas without adequate provision for open space simultaneous with this growth? After land is developed with buildings it is too late to obtain open spaces at reasonable cost. We say it is lack of foresight that prevents us from acquiring these open spaces. But it is also lack of insight or proper understanding on the part of those in power, of what is needed to prevent those initial mistakes in development of land that lead to overcrowding and congestion.

Lack of provision of space at the proper time is also at the root of the problem of traffic congestion on the streets. We all know how severely clogged the streets in the central areas of cities have become. How are we solving this problem? We are having one-way streets, prohibition of parking and other methods of restriction which will afford temporary relief but no solution. Even the widening of streets, as Mr. Frederick Bigger has pointed out, may increase the traffic on the street to a point that adds to congestion if, as a result of the widening, you permit relatively greater height of building.

What is the real difficulty that confronts us in dealing with all these problems of the city? Is it that we are unwilling to face the real problem of adjusting the scale of building densities and heights to the space needed to serve adequately the business, traffic, transit, housing and recreational requirements of the citizens?

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE MODERN
CITY

Pittsburgh, like Philadelphia, affords an example where invention and technical education, side by side with executive ability applied to manufacture, have built up a material prosperity, probably unequalled in the world. But what of the comparison between Pittsburgh and the industrial communities of the old world in regard to social conditions, or the physical growth of the community? Is it much in advance of that which we have seen in the industrial cities of other countries, handicapped as these are and have been by evils passed down from feudal times?

Pittsburgh is a modern city. As far as the census is concerned it did not exist in 1790. We find in 1810 it was first dignified with a position in the census tables of the United States. It has grown more rapidly than New York. In the last 100 years it has grown from a few thousand to nearly 600,000. This is a percentage of growth of about 80 as compared with about 36 in the city of New York during the same period. Pittsburgh is therefore symbolic of modern civilization. It is the expression in the whole of its development of what we call the mechanical age. Magnificent things have been done in Pittsburgh. At the worst it is not so depressing as the English city of which Charles Dickens wrote in "Hard Times." Here is his description of Coketown:

A town of machinery and tall chimneys, out of which interminable serpents of smoke trailed themselves for ever and ever, and never got uncoiled. It had a black canal in it, and a river that ran purple with ill-smelling dye, and vast piles of building full of windows where there was a rattling and a trembling all day long, and where the piston of the steam engine worked monotonously up and down, like the head of an elephant in a state of melancholy madness. It contained

several large streets all very like one another, inhabited by people equally like one another, who all went in and out at the same hours, with the same sound upon the same pavements to do the same work, and to whom every day was the same as yesterday and tomorrow, and every year the counterpart of the last and the next.

Coketown is not the kind of place to inspire love of city. Every dweller in a city needs opportunity to develop that civic spirit which makes him proud of his city as a place to live and work in, and as a place in which there is art and beauty, as well as money and wealth.

What have the social conditions of the people to do with regional or city planning? For instance, what connection is there between the questions of housing and transit on the one hand and industrial efficiency on the other hand? Do you think that the manufacturer, whose workers have to travel two hours a day to and from Manhattan and Long Island on congested transit lines, suffers nothing from the fatigue, loss of time and expenditure of money on travelling which has to be borne by his employees? I know of men in New York who suffer seriously in health because of the nervous strain of having to travel to and from their work. Do you think that these things have no effect upon the cost of production?

Is the question of high buildings remotely disconnected from the question of housing? High buildings increase the cost of land for housing in central areas. They deprive adjacent low buildings of light and air. They cause congestion of the transit lines which people use to get to and from their dwellings. We find in New York what I think common observation has shown to you, that skyscrapers are the complement of the obsolete low buildings and blighted districts in every large city. They cause land to be dear but

do not increase land values as a whole. Intensive development in one place means lack of development in another place. If you persist in building on the air, you don't want land to build on.

All of us do not travel into the suburbs to escape the crowded apartment. Many travel long distances into country districts and still live in crowded tenements. When you build a high block of tenements in the suburbs you are lessening the demand for the large amount of vacant land that lies unused all around it. You do not increase your population by having tenements. The chances are that the more attractive you make housing conditions the greater the attraction will be to population. Side by side with the tenement building in the suburbs you find vacant lots, served with sewers, water and light,—lots unused, on which the owners pay taxes, without any source of revenue. It is only the individual in special instances who, for a short while, gains by the form of congestion that takes place in suburban areas.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW YORK STATE

There is better distribution in Pennsylvania than there is in New York. In 1810 New York passed Pennsylvania as having the largest population in this country. Virginia was still first. In 1820 New York came in front of Virginia. But the two states that have maintained their population most steadily in the last eighty years have been New York and Pennsylvania. They still lead as the two most populous states of the Union. New York has over 10,500,000 people. Pennsylvania has considerably over 8,000,000. But Pennsylvania has a better distribution. In New York City alone we have about five and one-half million people out of that ten and one-half that we have in

the whole state. In Pennsylvania you have a more equitable distribution and you have maintained a progressive growth as great as that of the state of New York. The surplus population in New York over Pennsylvania is no greater today than it was seventy or eighty years ago.

In this state you have the opportunity, I think, of dealing with this problem of more even distribution of population and industry than we can have in the state of New York. In the metropolitan region comprised in New York and its environs, where we have 9,000,000 people in an area comprising 5,528 square miles, it is predicted that we will have from fifteen to twenty millions of people in 1965. Even if we have twenty millions, we can still house them in that region, within 50 or 60 miles of Manhattan, on a scale of distribution which would not exceed 20 or 30 people to the acre. Yet in part of Manhattan we have five or six hundred people to the acre, and we are accustomed to saying, as you have been accustomed to saying in Pittsburgh, that this condition persists because of the physical difficulties of expansion.

The two cities in this country which suffer most from restrictions on growth, as a result of physical difficulties, are New York and Pittsburgh. We have rivers on two sides of Manhattan, so wide that the cost of building bridges and tunnels is almost prohibitive. On the north there is a small river, the Harlem River, but still a serious physical obstruction. On the Hudson side, after you have bridged the river, there is the further obstruction of the Palisades and again behind these high escarpments the 20,000 acres of the Jersey meadows which consist largely of marsh and are intersected by the Hackensack River. Pittsburgh has been confronted with the difficulty of

extending out of a deep valley and of trying to expand over on to the hills. Attempts that have been made to deal with the situation have all brought forward the excuse that in New York and in Pittsburgh the necessities for congestion have been due to nature and not to anything that man has done. But is it not our duty to prepare plans to conform to nature, and not try to make nature conform to our plans?

There are those who think it is useless to plan and that all we can do is to let things drift. For my part, I would rather try to suggest an ideal that was unattainable than try to excuse our lack of intelligence for the things we have already done. But I think, if the practical business man would apply the same intelligence as he uses in his industry towards the problems of the city he would see the folly of letting things drift and failing to plan and regulate the future growth of the city.

I have already said that what may be endured in small may be unendurable in large measure. Karel Capek has said the horrible thing in East London was not what could be seen and smelt, but "its unbounded and unredeemable extent." As he says, where poverty and ugliness exist as a rubbish heap between two houses or in small areas, it is merely an incident, but as cities grow and cover large regions like London, the distressing thing is that "there is too much of it; and it cannot be reshaped."

The great need for regional planning today arises from the fact that as urban regions expand you have, not small intensive areas of bad growth, but widely extended areas, suffering congestion and unhealthy social conditions. That is why the need of regional planning has become of pressing importance in these days of great urban aggregations.

DISPLAY OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Let me refer briefly to another point. What is the great fault with the public buildings in most of our cities? America today has created a standard in architecture which is the admiration of architects throughout the world. You have beautiful buildings in Pittsburgh. But there is here a lack of opportunity for display of most of the beautiful buildings you possess. Washington is an outstanding example where you have beautiful buildings adequately displayed, because there is space in which to display them. The great fault of the industrial community is the lack of space to display its monumental structures. That is a part of the question of lack of proper distribution of the buildings of the city, and of spaciousness in the laying out of the city.

PLANNING MUST BE CONSTRUCTIVE AND HAVE THE RIGHT OBJECTIVE

Constructive methods should be used in city and regional planning. It must be based on comprehensive study of the physical, economic and social conditions of the city. It must have as its objective the well-being of the city and the citizens. I would be the last to say that there is not a good deal of criticism to be brought to bear upon some of the planning that has been done. There has been good planning and there has been bad planning. All cities have been planned in some kind of fashion. Cities have suffered less from lack of planning than they have from wrong planning. As the heroine in Sinclair Lewis' "Main Street" said of the typical western town, "It must have taken genius to make them so scrawny." The chief difficulty is perhaps that of obtaining concerted action. The power of concerted action is needed to guide community growth on the right lines. We are beginning to

learn that what is the interest of the private owner of land is the interest of the community, and what is the interest of the community is the interest of the private owner.

I have placed emphasis on what might seem to some to be the unpopular side of the subject, because I believe it is the most fundamental, and being the most fundamental, it touches the pockets and liberties of those who are privately interested in conditions as they now are, and who, in many cases, only see the advantage of that which is beneficial to themselves. We must continue to respect the rights of prop-

erty, but the owner of land does not possess any right to do that which destroys the health, lessens the safety, or injures the welfare of his fellow citizens. To give strength and add beauty to the city, to give wholesome environment to the citizens in their homes and places of work, to lessen waste and inefficiency caused by congestion will not lessen but will add to the real values of property. These things will add also to the health and happiness of the citizens and to the sum of human efficiency that constitute the foundation of wealth and of progress.

TOLEDO HESITATES IN VOTING BONDING PROGRAM

BY VIRGIL SHEPPARD

University of Toledo

Toledo's ten-year improvement program, involving the issuance of \$32,500,000 in bonds, was defeated at the recent election. :: ::

TEACHER: "Johnny, did you find out how much a million dollars are?"

Johnny: "Yes ma'm. I asked my dad last night and he said it was a hell'uva lot of money."

Thirty-two million five hundred thousand dollars of Uncle Sam's greenbacks is a whole lot of "jack" to the average citizen, especially when he has never before been called upon to consider such a huge sum and when he has the impression that one man will control the expenditure of it. Hence, the defeat at the November election of a wonderful financial plan for improving physical conditions in the city of Toledo, Ohio.

The defeat showed that Mr. Average Citizen in Toledo was not prepared to hink in such large figures so far as his

municipal government is concerned. In short the defeat indicates the need for more civic education for the purpose of inculcating into the voter a more tolerant attitude toward his government.

PROPOSED PROGRAM OF IMPROVEMENTS

Taking immediate advantage of a new state law effective in July, 1925, the administrative and legislative branches of the city government submitted to the voters the question of approving the issuance of \$32,500,000 worth of bonds for 18 public improvement projects. The new law made it possible for debt charges on bonds authorized by a 55 per cent majority of the vote cast on each proposal to be levied outside of all existing tax limits.

Such a levy would not decrease the operating revenues of the city levied within the tax limits. The famous Smith One Per Cent Law necessitated the unsound practice of decreasing operating levies when additional bonds were sold. The net result was that in most of the cities of Ohio the administration of current activities was either seriously crippled or completely paralyzed.

Through the careful consideration of the city planning commission the program of physical betterment was made to include all probable permanent improvements to be financed during the next ten or twelve years. The proposed improvements consisted of street paving, grade crossing elimination, construction of bridges and public buildings, waterworks extension, port development, completion of the sewerage system, purchase of land for parks, playgrounds and civic center and a few minor improvements. The program as adopted by the planning commission and the city administration was by far the most forward-looking and far-reaching financial plan for improvements ever formulated by an Ohio city. As a city planning project it was as nearly complete from a financial standpoint as could be imagined. Although definite plans had not yet been drawn for some of the improvements to be made, it was thought that the adoption of a financial plan at the very outset would insure a continuity of policy in the physical planning of the city. Hitherto, city planning meant little or nothing in Ohio cities since the financing of large improvements meant a decrease in the tax levy for current operating expenditures.

CAMPAIGN FOR PROGRAM

The campaign for the 18 proposals was probably the most intensive and best organized of any political cam-

paign ever made in this section of the country. However, as will be shown later, the campaign was not without defects. Without a doubt it can be said that never before in the history of the city has a candidate or a project been defeated after having from all ordinary appearance such well organized support and such little organized opposition.

The organization of the campaign was chiefly the work of the leader or "boss" of the Republican party in Toledo. He was named chairman of the campaign committee and in that capacity placed the business of bringing the issues before the people on a very efficient basis. Use was made of the Republican precinct committeemen to give solidarity to the campaign in the various sections of the city. The campaign committee was established on a non-partisan basis and many influential men and women served upon it. Division of work was brought about by establishing several subcommittees. There were committees on finance, advertising and publicity, labor, retail merchants, churches and clubs, industrial plants, real estate, speakers' bureau and statistics.

In addition to the support of the Republican party the bond issues were endorsed by the somewhat disorganized Democratic party. Many of the old Independents who made history in the days of "Golden Rule" Sam Jones and Brand Whitlock were actively engaged in supporting the proposals. Naturally the city administration and the great majority of councilmen were back of the issues. The director of public service, now president of the state organization of city planners and a man deemed the ablest in the city for the official position which he holds, stumped the wards for every issue.

Of the three daily newspapers two came out unqualifiedly for the program

as adopted by the administration. One of the two, an independent organ which had long opposed the Republican machine, lent its whole-hearted support to the Republican boss in his efforts to put the issues across. The third paper is ordinarily a Republican sheet. However, it lent its support to only \$13,000,000 of the bonds which if voted would be used for financing the most essential improvements. Supposedly for legal reasons discussed later it would not endorse the entire program. The weekly paper of the Central Labor Union came out very strongly for the proposals, urging every union man to support all of the issues.

Other printed publicity was secured through the wide distribution of several forms of cards, small pamphlets and folders. Through these an attempt was made to show how the money would be spent and the resulting increase in taxes.

The poster advertising portion of the campaign was quite remarkable for its intensity. On practically every lamp standard in the congested district placards were attached. On street cars, police semaphors, automobiles, and other places where they could be viewed by all were placed several kinds of posters. The fact that the game of football has such a large following in Toledo was cleverly capitalized in making up one of the posters.

Large well-painted signs were placed on all fire department houses, at railroad crossings, at bridges, at important street intersections, at entrances to city parks, along boulevards and at every other site where it was proposed to make improvements. Each sign advocated the passage of the bond issue which if voted would be used to improve the site where the sign was located. For example, the sign at each grade crossing urged the passage of the grade crossing elimination

bonds. Each sign also urged a "Yes" vote on all bond issues. On every sign and on many other forms of advertising was placed the campaign slogan: "Let's put more 'do' (pronounced 'dough') in Toledo!" Huge billboards were erected in many sections of the city to catch the eyes of the passersby. A letter and little booklet were sent to every registered voter explaining the need for the improvements. In short, nearly every conceivable method of printed and sign publicity was used to carry the program to the voters.

The speaking campaign was just as well organized. Speakers were secured from all the industrial groups in the city. The corps of speakers included some of the ablest orators and leading citizens of the municipality. Democrat, Republican, and Independent worked side by side to bring what was considered by them a common cause to the attention of the people. One of the defeated candidates for mayor at the election held two years ago spoke on the same platform with his successful opponent. During the three weeks before election scarcely a meeting of any kind for any purpose was held in Toledo without some bond speaker being present, so thorough was the work of the speakers' bureau. Speeches were made from the stages of all downtown theaters. Practically every civic organization seems to have given its approval to the proposed program. Fraternal organizations, parent-teacher clubs, labor unions, community leagues, chambers of commerce—including the central chamber—and the luncheon clubs endorsed the issues. Not even the public schools were neglected in the publicity campaign.

A supervisory committee of 30 leading men and women was named by the mayor for the purpose of advising the city government as to when and for

what particular purpose the bond money if voted should be spent. Although it was pointed out that this committee had no legal status it was thought that the standing of its members in the community would be weight enough to influence the government officials in properly spending the money.

Just before the election some of the largest and best known taxpayers in the city endorsed the program in the newspapers over their own signatures. Many ministers urged their congregations to vote "Yes" on all issues. The Catholic bishop of this district wrote his approval. The president of the American Federation of Labor sent his endorsement of the program.

In brief, the visible evidences of the campaign must certainly have given the impression to anyone visiting this city a few days before election that the passage of the 18 proposals was a foregone conclusion. Many of the bitterest opponents conceded that most of the important issues would pass.

PROGRAM AS A WHOLE DEFEATED

Imagine the shock to the Republican boss, to the city officials, and to other staunch advocates of the program when the election returns showed that only one issue of \$3,000,000 for grade crossing elimination was approved! An atmosphere of complete depression pervaded the city hall the day after the election.

What brought defeat for this supposedly well-planned and forward-looking program?

A long list of factors played parts of varying importance. Although many of the arguments heard against the issues influenced only a little group here and there, the multiplicity of them gave the majority of voters sufficient excuses to vote "No" on most proposals.

No doubt the most important factor

causing the rejection of the 17 proposals was that of a general lack of confidence in government. Many voters expressed the opinion that much of the money would find its way into the pockets of public officials and in other ways be used unwisely, if not corruptly. The establishment of the bond supervisory committee instead of serving as a good argument for the program was in one way a boomerang. The question was asked, "If the city government is competent to spend the money properly why is it necessary to establish a supervisory committee?" Naturally this gave the inference that the government was not competent. Many voters could see no necessity for voting so much money at one time. The program was high over the heads of many.

Coupled with the factor of lack of confidence there was often expressed the opinion that there could be no unselfish purpose motivating the boss of the Republican party who it was claimed would control the expenditure of the money. Especially was this argument effective when combined with the facts that the boss was the chairman of the executive committee of his party, chairman of the city planning commission, chairman of the regional planning commission in addition to being chairman of the bond campaign committee and a member of the bond supervisory committee. In justice to this leading personage it must be said that some of his bitterest opponents politically voiced the opinion that his only motive was one of service to his city.

For a number of reasons two of the three candidates for mayor opposed the bond issues. However, it appeared that neither candidate had a very effective organization or a large following. The best pre-election dopesters estimated that the organization candi-

date for mayor would receive a majority of all the votes cast. It was therefore assumed that if the people voted for this candidate they would also vote for the bond issues, all of which he had endorsed. But although the organization candidate was elected by a majority vote the main plank in his platform was cast aside.

As is often the situation the question of legality of the proposals was raised. A local law firm headed by one of the ablest lawyers in the city and one of the most hostile opponents of the Republican boss secured the opinions of the attorney general of the state of Ohio and of the most reputable firm of bond attorneys in the middle west to the effect that only about \$15,000,000 of the bonds, if voted, could be sold. The opinion was based upon an interpretation of the new law which made this campaign possible. Of course very few people understood the nature of the legal questions involved and no one knew how the supreme court of the state would interpret the law, but the mere hint of illegality served as a very legitimate excuse for voting against the issues.

The absence of information regarding financial laws of the city and state was shown when many people gained the impression that money was taken from the city treasury to finance the campaign. This probably resulted from placing signs on fire department houses and other public buildings and in the public parks and playgrounds.

The argument that the issuance of bonds would considerably increase taxes was effectively used. However, at the same election the voters by a two to one vote authorized an increase in the tax rate to the extent of 1.25 mills for school purposes. As a matter

of fact, had all the bonds been voted there would have been no increase in taxation for debt charges next year and in 1927 the increase would have been less than one mill, as estimated by the city research agency.

Many other arguments had their influence, though no one served to influence many voters. The pay-as-you-go plan, the large per capita debt, foolish expenditures in past years, the recent trouble in St. Louis between the mayor and a bond supervisory committee, all contributed to the downfall of the program.

MORE CIVIC ENLIGHTENMENT NEEDED

Defeat has shown the need of a more extended and even more intensive campaign of public education. The citizen must learn to know what the government means to him, what services it performs, why money is needed to perform these services, how the state government limits the financial powers of the city and what are his obligations to the government. The prejudices that many people have against all government in general and municipal government in particular must be eradicated. A spirit of tolerance in matters civic must be woven into the popular fabric before extensive city planning can be placed upon a permanent foundation in Toledo.

The recent campaign has served one useful purpose. It was a big and very important step in the educational campaign for civic betterment. The lessons learned should aid materially in conducting future bond campaigns. Let it be hoped that other cities contemplating an extensive program of public improvement may be able to profit by the experience of Toledo in planning their campaign.

WHAT GOVERNMENT SHOULD A REGION HAVE? ¹

BY THOMAS H. REED

University of Michigan

Professor Reed discusses the governmental needs of a region in the light of European experience. :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

THERE can be no debate as to the existence of metropolitan regions—geographic, social and economic units embracing an area far larger than the city and offering problems with which the ordinary machinery of local government is quite inadequate to deal. This meeting is held in the midst of perhaps the most extraordinary of such regions. Within a radius of an hour's automobile ride, Pittsburgh is surrounded by three cities, 68 boroughs and 58 townships. Within such an area, there are obviously problems of planning and plan execution, transportation, traffic, public utilities, drainage, public health and education, which can only be dealt with effectively for the area as a whole. The most serious question which confronts students of municipal government today is the development of some form of governmental organization through which these problems can be met successfully. So far, they have been dealt with haphazardly. Desperate situations have brought forth temporary and partial remedies. It is time that we surveyed the little progress which has been made and applied ourselves to the constructive treatment of this vast politico-scientific problem.

MEETING THE GOVERNMENTAL NEEDS OF A REGION

Recognizing that there are certain governmental needs in the region which can be met only by some form of

governmental organization extending throughout the region, there are three possible methods by which the extension of such governmental authority can be secured: first, by the creation of special authorities for each particular need; second, by the consolidation of all powers of local government throughout the region in a single authority with or without devolution of subordinate powers to divisions of this greater municipality; and third, by the establishment of a regional government of limited powers, leaving in existence the existing units of local government.

CREATION OF SPECIAL AUTHORITIES

The first of these methods is the one which has been made use of most frequently. It is obviously the line of least resistance. It involves no more than the meeting of each critical situation as it arises. It would be possible to present numerous examples of such *ad hoc* authorities. They fall into four classes: (1) those where the authority is appointed by the central government; (2) those where it is selected by the governing bodies of the various units of local government concerned; (3) those where it is elected by the direct vote of the people of the area affected; and (4) those where it is made up, in whole or in part, of representatives of the various interests most nearly affected by its activities.

An example of the first class is the London Metropolitan Police District, where the authority is the Home Secretary himself. In this country we have the Massachusetts Metropolitan Com-

¹ This article is a transcript of Professor Reed's speech at the Pittsburgh meeting of the National Municipal League, November 18, 1925.

mission, the Milwaukee Metropolitan Sewerage Commission, the Passaic Valley Sewerage Commission and a few port authorities.¹ The objections to a state-appointed authority are too obvious to require rehearsal. These authorities have been almost uniformly efficient, but this method of securing efficiency can never have any wide appeal in a democratic society.

The best example of the second class is perhaps the Metropolitan Water Board which supplies water to London and some neighboring communities. It consists of 66 members, chosen as follows:

The London County Council	14
The county councils of Essex, Kent, Middlesex, Surrey and Hertfordshire, one each	5
The cities of London and Westminster, two each	4
The Borough Council of West Ham	2
Borough Council of East Ham, 27 metropolitan borough councils, urban district councils of Leyton, Walthamstow, Tottenham and Wellesden, one each	32
Various groups of smaller boroughs and urban districts, one each	7
The Thames and Lee conservancy boards, one each	2
Total	66

Each of the authorities above mentioned chooses its representative or representatives from its own number. It will be admitted that 66 is a rather cumbersome body for the administration of a water system. The large num-

ber, however, is inevitable if each of the local divisions concerned is to have representation in anything like proportion to its population. The Metropolitan Water Board functions successfully, but its task is by no means an arduous one.

An important American authority of this class is the Montreal Metropolitan Commission, which includes Montreal and 15 small suburban municipalities. It was created in 1921 primarily to aid four of the smaller municipalities of the island of Montreal, which were in danger of defaulting on the interest and principal of their bonded debt. It was given power to aid these municipalities with loans on the credit of the whole district, and to control their budgets, audit their accounts, etc. At the same time its approval was also made necessary for the exercise of borrowing powers by any of the other municipalities, except Montreal. It is now the practice for the commission to issue its bonds in the case of approved loans and to collect the necessary sums for interest and amortization from the city or the town concerned. The general expenses of the commission are apportioned on the basis of the taxable property of each municipality. This carries with it a power to examine and revise the assessment rolls of the municipalities under its control. The commission is composed of fifteen members, seven of whom are chosen by the council of Montreal and one each by the councils of Lachine, Outremont, Verdun, Westmount and by conventions of delegates of the towns west of Montreal and east of Montreal respectively. The number is completed by a member appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor and the Comptroller of Montreal ex-officio. This commission has been very successful and its powers are being gradually enlarged. The type of organization, however, is open

¹ The Port of New York Authority, appointed by the governors of New York and New Jersey, has some of the characteristics of both the first and the second class.

to serious objection. Aside from cumbersomeness, the chief objection is that the system of indirect election makes for irresponsibility on the part of the authority so created. The taxpayers of the district pay the bill, but cannot get directly at the individual members of the authority. This is a matter of minor consequence in the management of a going water system or the activities of a supervisory body like the Montreal Metropolitan Commission, but it would become a serious objection wherever large problems of administration were involved.

The Sanitary District of Chicago is the largest *ad hoc* metropolitan authority whose governing body derives an independent existence from popular election. The district embraces fifty cities and other local units covering an area of 436 square miles and with a population of over three million. Its activities have been very much in the public eye and it only needs to be said here that, if it is to be criticized at all, it is for a too faithful pursuit of the interests of the sanitary district, to the exclusion of the rest of the Great Lakes region. It is governed by nine trustees, chosen by the electors of the district, three every two years for six year terms.

Another similarly governed district is the East Bay Public Utilities District, consisting of Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda and six other California cities. It is governed by five directors, elected by wards. So far it has concerned itself only with the matter of water supply. To this sort of authority it is very vigorously objected that their creation multiplies elections. One, or even two, of them are perhaps tolerable, but to cover the whole field or regional problems in this manner is to confound thoroughly the existing confusion of local authority. The same objection of course applies with some-

what less force to authorities of the second class. Local government to be effective should be simple, for the electorate can only understand simple governmental devices. It is difficult enough now to elicit even a faint interest in local elections; to increase their number is to multiply this evil.

For an authority of the fourth class, we must turn to the Port of London authority. The area of this authority lies partly within and partly without the administrative county of London. The authority consists of 18 members elected by payers of port dues, wharfingers and owners of river craft, and ten members appointed, one by the Admiralty, two by the Minister of Transport, four by the London County Council, two by the corporation of the City of London, one by the Trinity House Corporation. The Port of London authority has dealt successfully with interests of the first order of magnitude. There is undoubtedly a wide field for this type of organization in connection with regional enterprises, involving commercial and industrial activity on a large scale. A partial application of the same principle has been made in the recently created Home Counties Traffic Advisory Committee. This committee has been established as a result of the report of the Royal Commission on London Government and has advisory functions of considerable importance in connection with the problems of traffic and transportation in the Greater London area. It consists primarily of representatives of the central government and of the local governmental units concerned, but for certain purposes, representatives of labor, bus operators and automobile owners are called in as additional members. The doctrine of the representation of interests has made but small headway in the United States, but it is worthy

of consideration that in England they have recognized even thus partially the fact that there are other aspects of life than the purely residential which deserve recognition at the hands of government. We may leave this analysis of *ad hoc* authorities, however, with the conclusion that they can solve the metropolitan problem only partially and temporarily when working at their best, while at their worst they offer serious danger to honest, responsible and representative government.

CONSOLIDATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTAL POWERS

The consolidation of the powers of local government throughout the region in a single authority carries with it obvious advantages, as compared with any of the other alternatives. In a recent letter, Mr. I. G. Gibbon of the English Ministry of Health, one of the most distinguished authorities on local government in the world, makes the statement that "experience certainly goes to show very strongly that one of the chief things desirable for good government is concentration of authority and function." There is, then, behind the desire of cities to annex the outlying communities, something more than a blind purpose to increase their census status. I am prepared to admit that, from the point of view of pure efficiency in operation, the consolidation of authority and function throughout the region is a desirable end. The objection to it lies chiefly in the attachment of the people to the local communities in which they live. This attachment is very real and is in no event to be lightly overridden by the searcher for pure efficiency. I may go further and say that it cannot be overridden. It is impossible, in these days, in the United States at least, to put through an extensive annexation program against the wishes of the people

of the territory annexed. We all remember of course the forcible annexation of Allegheny to Pittsburgh, but we remember, too, the tremendous repercussion of that high-handed proceeding in the public opinion of this country. For fifteen years now the boroughs surrounding Pittsburgh have valiantly resisted a similar fate. Highland Park will not join Detroit voluntarily, nor will Brookline join Boston, nor Evanston, Chicago, and they cannot be forced to do so.

There has been but one example in the twentieth century of a great city extending its boundaries to include numerous pre-existing municipalities,—the creation of Greater Berlin in 1920. It required all the pressure of post-war necessity, plus a tradition of subordination to central control, to bring this consolidation to pass. At that, it had to be accompanied by the devolution of extensive powers to the divisions of the metropolis. For many years before the European War of 1914, the population of Berlin had been spread over an area of which the municipality of that name was but the nucleus. The existence of common interests and problems was generally recognized, but no union was effected until 1911, and then only by compulsion. In that year, a Prussian statute created a "Union" (*Zweckverband*) for the control of tramways and rapid transit lines, and the acquisition of open spaces. In the midst of the war, the municipalities voluntarily joined in the formation of the Greater Berlin Employment Registry Commission of 1917. War necessities likewise led to numerous unions of an emergency character, such as the Food Stuffs Union, the Fuel Union, the Horseflesh Supply Office, the Greater Berlin Housing Union, etc. While in this manner the way was being broken toward the creation of a greater city,

there was increasing inconvenience from the conflicting problems of the vast number of local authorities. This was especially apparent in the matter of gas, water, electricity and sewer services,—Berlin furnishing a first-rate example of the “metropolitan problem” at its worst. There were 17 water works, 15 electric plants and 43 gas plants serving greater Berlin. Before pipes or wires could be laid on any large scale, negotiations must be undertaken with several authorities, which in some cases required years to complete. A somewhat extreme instance of the resulting confusion was the attempt of one municipality to divert the water supply of another. In the field of “housing,” the municipalities still possessed of land had no means with which to build, while Berlin itself, whose need of houses was excessive, had no land to build them on. By 1919 the population of Berlin was 1,907,471, while an almost exactly equal number dwelt in the neighboring communities. All these things made the creation of some competent central authority inevitable. Some of the suburban municipalities urged the retention of the existing municipalities while creating above them a federated city. Another and perhaps more influential view favored a centralized municipality. The act of 1920 was a compromise between these two opinions, but leaned more heavily upon the latter. It swept away the existing municipalities. It created twenty “administrative districts,” six out of Berlin and fourteen from the eight cities, 59 rural communes and 27 manorial precincts, which were made the subject of the merger. Each of these districts elects a council and is provided with an administrative organization. It left, however, to the central authorities of the new city the final determination of what matters fall within the

competence of the district governments.

At the basis of the government of Berlin stands the “Municipal Assembly” (Stadtverordnetenversammlung). It consists of 225 members chosen at one time for a term of four years by a curious system of proportional representation. The principle of proportional representation is also applied to the election by the assembly of the magistrat, which consists of not more than thirty members. These, as in other Prussian cities, are partly paid members chosen for twelve years, and partly unpaid members chosen for the term of the assembly. The assembly also chooses an oberbürgermeister and a bürgermeister, who is in effect a deputy or assistant of the former. The functions of these authorities in Greater Berlin and their relation to one another are in no respect dissimilar to those which have long prevailed in Prussian cities.

The area of the city was divided by the Act of 1920 into twenty Administrative Districts (Verwaltungsbezirke). Future alteration of district boundaries was left to joint resolution of the municipal assembly with the approval of the district assemblies concerned. These district assemblies consist of the members of the municipal assembly from the district and of from 15 to 45 persons chosen in the district by proportional representation at the same time as are members of the municipal assembly. The district assemblies, subject to the principles laid down by the municipal assembly and magistrat, “act upon all affairs of the district.” Upon them also is conferred the “supervision of the administration of those municipal arrangements and institutions” of their respective districts, “which are intended primarily to serve the interests of the administrative district.” As a basis for the municipal

budget, the district assembly prepares and submits, through the district board to the magistrat, a report on the needs of these "institutions and arrangements." Provision is further made that in the annual budget special estimates shall be adopted for district needs and assigned to the district to be executed. After all this is but a vague definition of powers, typical of European law-making and in strong contrast with American practice. It is the apparent intention of the law to leave to the districts a considerable range of activities, subject to regulation and adjustment by the central authorities of the greater city. The position of control is further strengthened by the veto which is given the magistrat over the acts of the district assembly and other district authorities.

The district is provided with a full complement of administrative authorities. The most important of these is the District Board (*Bezirksamt*), which consists of seven members elected by the district assembly. The members of the district board are mostly salaried officers with twelve year terms, but there may be unpaid members whose tenure is that of the assembly which elects them. The district board is the executive authority of the district, an agency of the district assembly, with power to appoint its own officials, etc. It is also the agent of the magistrat in administering any affairs which that body may intrust to it. On the other hand, the magistrat must consult with the chairmen of all the district boards before it comes to a final decision on the budget plan, the division of administrative functions between the municipal and district authorities, and the exercise of the veto upon the acts of the latter. The district board is furthermore specifically charged with the duty of mediating between the district assembly and the municipal bodies.

As in the administration of the municipality at large, resort is frequently had in the districts to Deputations (*Deputationen*), which consist of members of the district assembly or qualified citizens named by the assembly or members of the district board appointed by the district burgermeister, who also designates the chairmen from the latter.

By concurrent resolution of the district assembly and district board with the approval of the magistrat an administrative district may itself be divided into Local Districts (*Ortsbezirke*). At the head of each such district is a chairman and a deputy chosen by the district assembly for twelve years if salaried or four years if not. With the consent of the magistrat, a local council, elected by the people, may also be established, who, among other powers, possess the right to nominate candidates for local chairman. Thus is created a further tie between the people and the administration.

On the whole, the governmental system of Greater Berlin seems to be one of deconcentration—i.e., the localization and popularization of administration—rather than one of genuine municipal federalism. It is too early to render a definite judgment upon the degree of autonomous activity permitted to the boroughs. If money spending is any guide, the needs recognized as purely local make up something less than half the total budget estimates. This means that the administrative districts are vastly more important relatively than the New York boroughs which spend but 7.4 per cent of the current expense budget of the city.

REGIONAL GOVERNMENT OF LIMITED POWERS

Consolidation of authority and function with such devolution of power to

subordinate areas as is provided in the government of Greater Berlin approaches very closely in its practical results to the third alternative—the creation of a regional government of limited powers. After the new governmental organization has been created, it is difficult to tell, from any analysis of functions, over which road it has come. It is possible, however, to create a regional government of limited powers while leaving in existence the present units of local government. This method of solving the metropolitan problem is commended by its feasibility. It involves no sacrifice of cherished local independence, no change in names and allegiances. There must, of course, be some surrender of power by the existing local units, but that surrender presumably will go no further than those activities in which the regional problem has made its appearance. In other words, the existing local units will lose nothing that they could profitably keep. Not only does the preservation of the identity of existing local units promote the feasibility of regional government, but it may, from certain points of view, be regarded as a positive good, off-setting to a considerable degree the presumed greater efficiency of a centralized consolidation. In the service of local government, it is desirable to enlist all the available sentiment of local patriotism. To create great metropolitan cities, regardless of this principle, is to court increased indifference to city government. That this indifference is already serious, the fact that less than half of the resident citizens of voting age in New York City take the trouble to register for an important city election and a still smaller proportion vote, is sufficient proof. The larger the unit, the further government is removed from the people. Popular interest declines in direct proportion to this dis-

tance, up to the point where the dramatic appeal of national politics begins to take effect. The creation of a regional government which left in existence the present local units would to that extent multiply elections and increase the complexity of our governmental system. These are things in themselves undesirable, and they must be set off against the greater feasibility of this method of solving the metropolitan problem.

This objection disappears, of course, if it is possible to identify the region with any of the existing units. Allegheny County has been suggested as the unit for the regionalization of Pittsburgh. It embraces most of the urban communities centering on Pittsburgh. It includes a fairly extensive agricultural area, but not more perhaps than it is desirable to control for the purpose of establishing outlying open spaces and directing the course of future development. Indeed, there is real reason for believing that every metropolitan region should embrace both urban and rural areas.

The governmental organization to be provided for such a region must necessarily be worked out by experiment. In no other way can we determine absolutely what its organization should be. Reasoning by analogy from the experience of other units of local government, it may be suggested that the governing body of the region should be a council of from nine to twenty-five members elected at large by proportional representation or by districts, that its administrative functions should be entrusted to a professional manager under whom should be erected a number of departments,—health, education, public utilities, etc., according to the necessity of the particular situation.

Analysis of the various alternatives offered for the solution of the regional problem seems to lead to the conclusion

that there should be a single authority for the region. This is supported by the recent consolidation of three commissions in the Massachusetts Metropolitan Commission, the creation at Morris Knowles' suggestion, of the Essex Border Utility District with broad powers, and the proposed Metropolitan District of Detroit. It would appear also that some concession must be made to local interests and the spirit of local patriotism. Whether we proceed by consolidation and devolution, or by the federation of existing units in a regional government of limited powers, is a matter of no great consequence except from the point of view of the political feasibility of the operation. In either event, we have a new unit of local government of far greater extent than the municipalities with which we have been familiar, a unit as large as, or in many cases much larger than, the county. Within this unit local sentiment will be enlisted and local interest secured by leaving a broad field of activity to divisions of the metropolis. These divisions may be either newly built upon scientific lines or may be the old units in which the people have been living.

Those who gather at National Municipal League meetings like to hear at least of new things and are moderately receptive of new ideas. This is a very new idea. There has been no change in our conception of the relative positions of cities, towns and counties since the Pilgrims set foot on Plymouth Rock. To challenge a tradition of three hundred years' standing is a bold act. Our conception of government and of the areas of government, however, must be molded to match the realities of life. The great city of today is no longer a reasonable correlative in the scheme of government of the town or township. It can no longer be regarded as a part of the county. Political boundaries must be made to coincide with economic and social boundaries. If this demand is unprecedented, so is the situation which creates it. This is the age of the city. As Chief Justice Mansfield sat down weekly to dinner with the merchants of London to modernize the law of commerce, so must our legislators sit down with city planners and municipal reformers to give the metropolitan city her proper place in the scheme of government.

THE CORONER SYSTEM IN PHILADELPHIA

BY AUSTIN F. MACDONALD

University of Pennsylvania

A description of the coroner system as it exists in Philadelphia, a slipshod and ineffective system that has long since outlived its usefulness.

ONE of the most curious political anachronisms of modern times is the office of coroner. As long ago as the days of Henry II, and probably before, there were coroners in England; but these men were knights of the realm,

whose chief duty it was to find the property of unclaimed dead persons and seize it in the name of the crown. Today in most cities of the United States there are coroners, political henchmen for the most part, rewarded

with public office for their vote getting ability. Their function is to investigate cases of violent death, and to hold inquests to determine why death occurred.

In most cities the actual decision as to the cause of death is made, not by the coroner, but by a jury chosen to aid him in the work. Such an arrangement is unfortunate, even if we make the unwarranted assumption that the jury is composed of well educated citizens with a high sense of civic responsibility. It usually takes more than a good general education to determine whether a person whose body is found in several feet of water met his death by accidental drowning or by foul play. A desire for service does not carry with it a knowledge of the effect of poisons on the human system. Most of the problems confronting the coroner and his jury from day to day are of a highly technical nature. Their solution requires an understanding of specialized phases of medicine seldom possessed by the general practitioner, and a familiarity with legal problems beyond the ken of the average attorney. Such knowledge cannot reasonably be expected of jurors. It is obvious, therefore, that the jury must look to the coroner for expert advice in aiding it to reach its decisions. Whether the coroner's office is equipped to furnish such expert advice is a matter of vital importance.

CONDITIONS IN PHILADELPHIA

Typical of conditions throughout the country is the situation in Philadelphia, where the coroner system still flourishes. Here the coroner is elected by direct vote of the people for a three year term. This is merely another way of saying that he is chosen by the organization to serve during its pleasure. Under the most favorable conditions the people are poor judges of the tech-

nical qualifications of an administrator. And conditions in Philadelphia are far from favorable to an intelligent expression of the popular will. At the municipal election in November, 1923, each voter was asked to choose from among one hundred and twenty-eight different candidates for thirty-six offices, in addition to expressing his opinion of two loan bills and four proposed amendments to the constitution. The people were expected to select not only the coroner, but also the receiver of taxes, the recorder of deeds, the sheriff, the mayor, the constables, and an imposing array of other officials. Under such a system the electorate cannot choose intelligently. It is not expected to. It sweeps into office the men whose names are on the "regular" slate, and in so doing meets all the requirements of the powers that be.

CORONERS GENERALLY POLITICIANS

Coroners are selected for their ability to control votes. It is not customary for them to possess any familiarity with law or medicine. The present incumbent of the office was formerly a member of the city council, and his predecessor was a sawmaker by trade. The members of the coroner's staff are chosen by him on the basis of their political activity, without any sort of test to determine fitness for the work assigned to them. The chief deputy and the coroner's detective are ward leaders, while the chief clerk, the nine district deputies, and two persons connected with the city's morgue all control their respective divisions. The laws of Pennsylvania provide for the selection of employees under civil service regulations in cities of the first class (a circumlocution for Philadelphia); but court rulings have practically nullified the civil service laws as applied to a number of important departments.

Philadelphia is a consolidated city

and county. Some of its officers serve the city of Philadelphia, and some, the county of Philadelphia. The area of the two units is the same; the populations are identical. The distinction would be of little or no significance but for the odd fact that the merit system must be used in selecting city employees, while no such requirement exists concerning county workers. About fifteen years ago the city treasurer employed a stenographer without complying with the civil service regulations for cities of the first class. His right to do so was upheld by the superior court, which declared in part: "It must be conceded that the office designated as city treasurer is a county, and not a city office."¹ It would seem from this decision that Philadelphia has no city treasurer. And yet its charter provides in great detail for such an office, and lays down numerous requirements concerning it. What effect such requirements have on the county treasurer is problematical.

As may well be imagined, the county offices are a veritable spoilsmen's paradise. Many an earnest division leader who knows far more about vote getting than double entry bookkeeping has been rewarded with a lucrative position in the county's service. It is not at all uncommon for a man dismissed from the city's employ to find a haven in some county office, where such distracting terms as "efficiency" and "merit" are unknown. Such a shelter is the coroner's office, for the coroner serves the county of Philadelphia, and not the city. That is why so many of those connected with the coroner are ward or division leaders or workers. The number will doubtless be still larger in a short time, when a newly elected coroner takes office. The present coroner was appointed by

the governor to fill a vacancy caused by death, but his term will expire before this article leaves the press.

THE CORONER'S STAFF

The coroner's staff, exclusive of those connected with the morgue and potter's field, consists of about twenty-five persons, eight of them engaged in work of a clerical nature. Under the law inquests must be held in all cases of death by violence, and of sudden death, if no practicing physician was in attendance. Notice of such a death, whether given by the police or by a friend or neighbor of the deceased, sets in motion the machinery of the coroner's office. There are nine deputy coroners, each assigned to a different section of the city, and the first step is a visit by one of the deputies to the scene of the death. The skill with which these men perform their task of collecting the essential facts of each case as soon as possible after death determines in large measure whether responsibility will ever be fixed with any degree of accuracy. The deputies are division leaders who have shown particular aptitude for vote getting; if they also display some ability for serving the public, so much the better—but this is not essential. The salaries paid are too small to attract high grade men, and the county gets just about what it pays for, or a little less.

There is a special murder squad of three members which investigates all cases known or thought to be homicides. This work was formerly carried on through an investigation bureau. Its chief, for whom the position is said to have been created to repay political obligations, received \$2,000 annually from the county treasury for his arduous work of supervision. Under the régime of an appointed coroner the post of investigation bureau chief was abolished. The three

¹ *Bonnell v. Philadelphia*, 48 Penna. Superior Ct., 456 (1912).

detectives now report directly to the coroner. Two of them are division leaders.

In a little more than one-fourth of the cases autopsies are performed. This work is done by three physicians regularly connected with the coroner's office. They are not involved in local politics. Considering the salaries paid them, they are in all probability reasonably efficient. But the salaries are pitifully small. The best paid of the three physicians receives only \$3,500 a year. For a total outlay not in excess of \$10,000 Philadelphia expects to receive the full-time services of three men skilled in medicine and surgery, specialists in anatomy, biology, toxicology and botany, and familiar at least to some extent with law. It is no reflection upon the present members of the coroner's medical staff to say that they fail to meet all these stringent requirements.

THE CORONER'S JURY

It has already been pointed out that the actual determination of the cause of death is made, not by the coroner and his assistants, but by a jury chosen for the purpose. The coroner's jury is composed of six men, whose verdict must be unanimous. Failure to agree results in the choice of a new jury. A list of applicants for jury duty is kept on file, and jurors are chosen from this list. The pay is one dollar a day, and no allowance is made for mileage when the jury is taken to view the body. Since jurors are seldom given the opportunity to view the body, failure to pay expenses works no hardship.

A description of the men who constitute a typical coroner's jury may well be omitted. It is sufficient to point out that they are looking for employment which requires no exertion, either physical or mental, and which pays one dollar a day. At a recent in-

quest one of the jurors is said to have been blind, and another, over ninety years of age. Such is the group of "good men and true" which weighs scientific evidence and passes upon questions of a highly technical nature.

THE CORONER'S COURT

The coroner's court is arranged after the manner of a regular courtroom. The coroner sits as a judge, with the jury of six in its box at his right. There is a witness stand for the giving of testimony and a table at which two stenographers sit while they report the cases. Even counsel may be present. The coroner has authority to compel the attendance of witnesses, and he makes use of this power freely. After each witness is sworn in he is questioned by the coroner, who attempts to bring out as clearly and concisely as possible the essential points of the testimony. The district deputy and the physician assigned to the case submit their evidence. It is worth noting that the physician is the only participant in the inquest who could by any stretch of the imagination be called an expert, and the jury is made the judge of the worth of his testimony.

Meanwhile the jurors lapse into somnolence. Occasionally one rouses himself with a start, only to sink again into blissful oblivion. After a time all the evidence is heard, and the coroner gives his charge to the jury. He may instruct the jurors as to the law, but not as to the facts. Then comes the jury's verdict, which is usually rendered without leaving the box. The verdict is formally entered in the record, and the farce has been completed.

CORONER SYSTEM SLIPSHOD AND INEFFECTIVE

Any person contemplating the present system, with its manifold absurdities, wonders why it is still tolerated

in one of the largest cities of the United States. Determination of the cause of death is a problem which baffles experts in many a case; yet in Philadelphia, as in most cities, the matter is decided by a jury of unkempt laymen whose ignorance is exceeded only by their indifference. They are assisted in their task, involving a comprehensive knowledge of medicine and law, by district deputy coroners whose main function is to get votes for the Republican organization, by three physicians whose ludicrously small salaries are a sufficient measure of their fitness for the work, and by a coroner who instructs them as to the law, of which he has no knowledge.

The entire system has but one redeeming feature. The verdict of the jury has no legal effect whatever. A person suspected of having caused another's death may be arrested and tried for the alleged crime, even though the coroner's jury finds that the death was due to natural causes. Or no arrests may follow the jury's verdict that death was due to violence. Such is not usually the case, however. The coroner's office co-operates with the district attorney and the police department in attempting to bring criminals to justice. Occasionally persons are committed to await the action of the grand jury. But the entire inquest is merely in the nature of an investigation, and a more slipshod and unscientific method of examining complicated facts and securing technical information can scarcely be imagined.

SOME STEPS TOWARD REFORM

Massachusetts pointed out the path of reform nearly half a century ago,

when the office of coroner was abolished and provision made for medical examiners appointed by the governor. But the movement has made little progress. In nearly every state the antiquated coroner system still flourishes. Three or four states have followed the lead of Massachusetts and substituted medical examiners for coroners. Juries have been abolished in Indiana, in California a number of cities have combined the offices of coroner and district attorney, and in a few states the coroner has been made an appointive official; but even these modifications of the customary procedure are so unusual as to occasion comment.

The story of the medical examiner and his work since he replaced the coroner in New York City has already been told in the pages of the REVIEW.² There are few who question that a similar change in Philadelphia would greatly improve this phase of the city's (or county's) administrative work. (It is to be hoped that the office of medical examiner, if created, would be made a part of the city and not of the county government, thus bringing it under civil service regulations.) There are few who doubt that the coroner system has long outlived its usefulness. But there are still fewer who care. It is difficult to arouse popular enthusiasm over a change in administrative procedure. And so the coroner's office remains, basing its findings on ignorance and prejudice, providing a safe refuge for nearly a score of political workers, but assured of a long tenure by the indifference of the people.

² August, 1920, and October, 1924.

MUNICIPAL AIRPORTS

BY CHARLES WHITNALL

Secretary, Board of Public Land Commissioners, Milwaukee

This article discusses municipal airports in the light of the recent and rapid development of air transportation. :: :: :: :: ::

RAPID as has been the advancement of aviation, it is still in an experimental stage from the standpoint of an economic carrier of passengers and freight. If aviation, as a means of transportation, is to advance no further than present-day development, it is doubtful if an expenditure of large sums of money would be advisable; but if, on the other hand, the art of flying is to continue to improve in the future as it has in the past, an airport will not only be desirable, but a necessary adjunct to any city's transportation facilities.

GROWTH OF AVIATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The practical development of the "flying machine," by Professor Langley and the Wright brothers, in 1903, marks the beginning of a new era of transportation. The further development of this new art progressed at a slow rate until the outbreak of the World War in 1914. The possibilities of the airplane as a fighting unit were soon realized, and from that time until the present, tremendous advances have been made. The number of airplanes increased from a meager half dozen in 1916 to over four thousand in continuous use in 1924.¹ With this rapid increase came a correspondingly rapid increase in obsolescences, rendering those planes which were once used for training and fighting unfit for military

¹ "Aircraft Year Book," 1924, published by Aëronautical Chamber of Commerce of America.

use but still satisfactory for other types of flying. This condition, together with quantity production, has placed the cost of an airplane within the economic reach of a vast number of people.

The remarkable results achieved by the airplane during the World War so established the practicability of using the plane as a carrier of passengers and freight that a corporation was formed in 1922 for the transportation of passengers between Detroit and Cleveland.² This field of service was enlarged to include the mail service, and later, in 1925, freight service. On May 1, 1925, there were two air mail routes, one between New York and San Francisco and the other between New York and Chicago.³ A short time later, a freight line was established between Detroit and Chicago,⁴ and several corporations are being formed to add to this system of transportation.

DEVELOPMENT OF AIR TRANSPORTATION IN EUROPE

Beginning with the same incentive, the World War, air transportation in Europe has increased at a much more rapid rate than in the United States.

² "An Introduction to the Economics of Air Transportation," by Thomas H. Kennedy, 1924.

³ Post Office Department official publication of May, 1925.

⁴ "Henry Ford Has Started His First Regular Flying Machine Route," an article in *United States Air Services*, May, 1925.

Two and one-half hours in an airplane will carry one from Paris to London, thereby saving five and one-half hours over the old method of transportation. In the five years, ending December 31, 1924, European transportation lines had flown over twenty-eight million miles.⁵ Airplane service in France has grown from one thousand voyages in 1919 to thirteen thousand voyages in 1924, in which year they carried over sixteen thousand passengers and merchandise aggregating 2,500,000 pounds.⁶ The *Aéronautical Digest* states: "The quantities of goods being transported on the London-Cologne route have greatly increased. Packages actually awaiting transport would easily fill four railroad cars and as fast as consignments are taken away, so fast do full loads arrive. To give an idea of this volume of traffic, I need only mention that the other day there were thirty complete motorcycles, some with side cars, and seven tons of tobacco, waiting to be carried to Cologne."

NEED FOR MUNICIPAL AIRPORTS

The growth of commercial air service has been slower than other forms of aviation, but even this slow rate of increase is making itself felt in a demand for landing fields. It would seem that the time is not far distant when those cities having adequate landing fields will reap a large commercial business, and with it the advantages of quicker deliveries and a consequential saving in cost. The transportation of passengers by means of airplanes, in Europe, has been so successful, even under adverse conditions, that

it is to be expected it will meet with even greater success in America, where distances are greater, resulting in a correspondingly greater saving in time.

Transcontinental air mail service has been in effect for some time, and this system of mail delivery is rapidly spreading to other parts of the country. The development of municipal airports suitable for the landing of freight, passenger and mail planes, should materially add to the convenience, economic and general prosperity of the various communities.

NUMBER OF EXISTING AIRPORTS

A report published by the Air Service on March 1, 1924, shows there are 2,850 airports located in forty-eight states and the District of Columbia.⁷ Eighty of these airports, located in the larger cities, range in size from two acres in Seattle to one thousand acres in Cleveland. The average distance from the center of the city is 4.6 miles, except that those rated as A-1 fields are generally from four to fifteen miles from the downtown district, which distance is probably due to the excessive cost of securing ade-

⁷ "Air Service Information Circular," published on March 1, 1923, by Chief of Air Service, Washington, D. C.

The 1924 Aerial Map, compiled by the U. S. Air Service, shows 201 municipal landing fields in the United States. California leads with 24 municipal landing fields; Georgia and Texas have 15 each; New York comes fourth in the list with 13 city owned fields; Florida has 10; Washington, Nevada, Kansas, North Carolina and Pennsylvania each 8; Montana and Oklahoma 7; the rest, with the exception of seven states, have one to five municipal landing fields. The same map marks 187 strictly commercial aeroplane fields in the United States. The municipalities have but eleven more fields than private organizations.—From "Darius Green and His Flying Machine," by R. E. Gossage, in *Municipal Reference Library Notes*, January 7, 1925.

⁵ From a speech by Maj. Gen. Mason A. Patrick, Chief of Air Service, before Chicago A. of C., June 3, 1925, in *Chicago Commerce*, June 6.

⁶ Editor's page, *Chicago Commerce*, June 6, 1925, official publication of Chicago A. of C.

quate space in the central business district. Of the 80 airports, 41 are municipally controlled, one privately controlled, 32 controlled by commercial corporations, one jointly by the municipality and private interests, and four by the municipality and commercial organizations. There are railroad facilities to fifteen, rapid transit or street cars leading to nine, and busses to one.

REQUIREMENTS OF AN AIRPORT

There are three primary requirements in the selection of an airport. They are (1) size, (2) transportation, and (3) location.

The size of an airport is the most important feature to be considered, as it is the length of the runway a plane uses in rising or landing that determines the availability of the field for different types of planes. In rising, an airplane must head into the wind, attain a speed varying from forty to eighty miles an hour on the ground before rising may be attempted. The lighter machines attain this speed rapidly and can, under favorable conditions, leave the ground in from 400 to 800 feet. The heavier planes, those used for freight, mail and passengers, require, under favorable conditions, a distance of from one to two thousand feet before leaving the ground. In addition to the space required on the ground, it frequently happens that the motor stalls immediately after rising, necessitating landing at once. To provide for this emergency, another thousand feet is necessary. A total, therefore, of from 2700 to 3000 feet is the minimum length of runway, to accommodate all of the now existing types of planes. In rising or in landing, an airplane makes an angle of approximately eight degrees with the horizontal, or for each foot of rise it moves forward seven feet. If there should

be a one-hundred-foot building at the edge of the field, it would render seven hundred feet of the field useless. The minimum distance mentioned (2700 to 3000 feet) for a runway must, therefore, be increased by seven times the height of any buildings on the edge of the field.

Governmental authorities inform us that to accommodate planes in all winds, a clear field 3,000 feet square should be required.

Transportation to and from the airport is the second most important consideration. If a field is adequately to serve a city, freight and passengers must have easy and quick access to it. It is essential, therefore, to be on or near a main paved highway. Automobiles or busses may carry the people back and forth, and trucks will be able to collect the mail and freight. If, however, the airport has railroad facilities, much highway congestion will be relieved and freight will be more easily and cheaply distributed to the various smaller villages and communities.

As the port increases its activities, many planes will be shipped to it for assembling, much as automobiles are now shipped for sale and distribution. The railroad is the only transportation facility able to meet this demand. If aviation is to grow in popularity, its achievements must be known, and while the automobile transports large numbers of people to the airport, there is a much larger number of people who do not own automobiles, yet who would be interested in the incoming and outgoing of planes, if convenient means for their transportation to the field were provided. Rapid transit or street car accommodations are, therefore, a great help in popularizing this new form of transportation.

The third requirement of an airport is its location. The prevailing opinion is that an airport like other

public features should be in the heart of the business district or close thereto, but the growing feeling among city planners is to locate these features rather in the outlying distribution centers, thus decentralizing the elements of the city plan and thereby relieving congestion in the present business district. Notwithstanding this new trend, to secure a location adjacent to the business district, accessible to land and water aircraft as it might be, it is almost always impossible of accomplishment at a price which the community can afford to pay. The question resolves itself into one of compromise. In order to accommodate all types of planes, the field must be 3,000 feet long in the direction of the prevailing winds, and without high buildings on the boundaries. There must be transportation facilities. If these conditions cannot be met in the heart of the city, the field must be located out of the business district, but as near thereto as the essential requirements may be obtained. A distance of four to five miles will usually satisfy the requirements of size and transportation, yet that distance is such that fifteen to twenty minutes is all that would be required to reach the field, either by automobile, bus or street car.

There are many minor factors that must also be considered in the location of an airport other than those mentioned. The land must be level, as hills or irregularities are dangerous to

the flyers. The airport should be as free from heavy fogs and smoke as is possible, and the soil should be of such a nature as to be easily drained. There should be water, sewer, telephone and electricity convenient for use, yet so located that the wires would not be a source of danger to incoming or outgoing planes.

OWNERSHIP OF AIRPORTS

There are three general types of administration of airports: (1) private, (2) commercial, and (3) public. The first type, that of private, is so rare and useless for a city airport as to be not worthy of consideration. The commercially owned airport exists in 32 of our cities. The difficulties that usually arise under such conditions are that the first corporation developing a port chooses the most advantageous place, thus placing a distinct hardship on all planes not under the corporation's control. Also, being a commercial proposition, the field selected is especially designed for the type of plane operated by the corporation, making it undesirable and often dangerous for any other type to land.

Ownership by a municipality appears to be by far the most satisfactory method. It is to the city's interest to develop all types of flying, to encourage many different air lines to come to the city, and to concentrate them at one place as ships of various lines, and from many ports, arrive and depart at one harbor.

HOW DETROIT'S TEN-YEAR FINANCIAL PROGRAM WAS PREPARED

BY C. E. RIGHTOR

*Chief Accountant, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, and Secretary,
Mayor's Committee on Finances*

A detailed description of Detroit's ten-year financial program and how it was prepared. Such a program is of vital importance in the financing of every city government. It is a necessary supplement to a municipal budget system. :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

DETROIT, like many other cities, has experienced a substantial growth during recent years. Its records of increase in population, area, wealth, building permits, value of manufactured products, savings bank deposits, and so on, all attest to its phenomenal industrial progress.

As illustrations of the city's growth may be cited the population increase from 465,766 in 1910 to 993,739 in 1920, or 113 per cent (the officially approved census for 1925 is 1,242,044); the school census increase from 133,339 in 1914-1915 to 263,420 in 1923-1924, or 97 per cent; and the city's area during this latter decade from 42 to 92 square miles, or 119 per cent (the people have since approved additional annexations which bring the area to 139 square miles).

This expansion has had its effect upon the municipal government. Current services must be extended to accommodate the new population, and public improvements such as water, schools, sewers, paving, etc., must be furnished to the new territories. A new administration taking office in 1919, under a new charter providing for a nine-member council and a mayor with strong executive control, was confronted with tremendous problems pressing for solution and emphasized by the postponement of construction

work during the war by order of the capital issues committee.

The cost of performing ordinary governmental activities in any city is usually financed from taxes, and it may be assumed that their cost would not be so large as to prove burdensome to property owners. The expense of extending permanent public improvements into outlying territory, however, if similarly financed would result in a prohibitive tax rate, as valuations usually follow rather than precede the improvement of property. The city thus finds it necessary to finance such improvements by loans.

In the issuance of bonds, the city finds itself subject to definite limitations imposed by statute and local legislation. Further, it finds a practical limit to the market for its securities—and few cities can afford to ignore the law of supply and demand in financing their major projects. Detroit markets its bonds in the eastern states, and must observe their legal requirements to assure the integrity of its securities.

Detroit invested \$150,000,000 in public improvements in the five years following the close of the World War, all but \$10,000,000 being financed through bond issues. It is interesting to observe that over one-half of the total expenditure was authorized by vote of the people, and, further, \$32,000,000

for schools required no referendum but would have been approved if so referred.

Thus, the city found its legal debt margin substantially reduced, and its marketable bond margin near the vanishing point. And yet there remained many millions of dollars of improvements to be made, some of the projects having received endorsement by the voters, and others equally urgent not having been submitted to a referendum.

This, in brief, is the picture of the financial dilemma confronting the city officials when its improvement program was just under way, while its industrial development showed no sign of abatement. What course should the city pursue? It was proposed, by those whose intimate study of the problem had emphasized its magnitude and urgency, that either the mayor or council should authorize a study and report for the city's guidance.

Accordingly, late in 1924, Mayor John W. Smith appointed a committee of five of the foremost citizens as follows: Richard P. Joy, President, National Bank of Commerce, Chairman; John Ballantyne, Chairman of the Board, Merchants National Bank; Charles H. Hodges, President, Detroit Lubricator Co.; James S. Holden, President, The James S. Holden Co.; Richard H. Webber, President, The J. L. Hudson Company.

This committee was requested to outline a ten-year program for the city. It began its task at once, and after five months of meetings and hearings, rendered its report.

Estimates of the various departments, boards and commissions totaled \$779,991,477, not including expenditures proposed for super-highways, park development, possible annexations, and contingencies which might conceivably increase the program to a

billion dollars. The committee revised the program to \$444,990,875, which it was estimated could be carried out within the ten years with a tax rate of \$20.65 per \$1000, and also as a result of its work made several minor recommendations affecting public policy.

PURPOSES OF A PROGRAM

It is recognized that cities today find themselves confronted with two distinct popular demands, one, for relief from taxation, which is accompanied by a feeling (however unwarranted) that such reduction is easily possible; and the other, for even more and better services, over and above the expansion in scope and cost of municipal activities during recent years. These demands are in direct opposition to one another, and constitute a pressing problem which our cities, some way, must solve. An invaluable service may be rendered to industries, merchants, and home owners by indicating what the tax burden may be over a definite term of years, as well as laying plans for the orderly development of the city.

Heretofore Detroit, as most cities, had planned its finances upon a year to year basis. The budget comprised the estimates of expenditure for carrying on the usual activities during the succeeding twelve months—the current operating expenses including debt charges, and ordinary equipment—also provision for some permanent improvements, as a hospital or bridge, the amount of such estimate being the probable expenditure to be made during the year, rather than the total cost of the completed project. If such improvement had received an approving vote of the people, the annual budget ignored any recognition of it.

In general, one result of this budget practice may be substantial fluctua-

tions in the tax rate from year to year, dependent upon the extent of capital projects included. Improvements are generally not of a recurring nature, as are operating expenditures. There may be several in one year, and few in the next. To effect a stabilized rate, or better, a lower rate, as is the aim of the average elected official, certain improvement projects may be "deferred," to the detriment of the service and therefore of the citizens themselves. One department head may be short-sighted and fail to request obvious needs; another may be a ready talker or vote getter and "sell" some project not as necessary for the public welfare. Too, the ultimate cost of an improvement is usually lost sight of. So it becomes apparent that, under the prevailing custom of planning merely year by year, the best interests of the citizens are not served.

DEFINITION OF PROGRAM

The solution seemed to be the preparation of a long-term program setting forth all the needs of the city, classified in the order of their necessity or desirability, and co-ordinated with the city's ability to finance it. Such program would show the amounts needed for operation and maintenance, and for capital projects which would be listed, with their cost, and the manner of financing them. The program should have official approval, after opportunity has been given to the public to express its views and if necessary to vote upon it.

It may be questioned who should prepare such program. First thought might be that the city officials should do this, as it concerns the government, and what is "everybody's business is nobody's business." The citizens, however, are really the most concerned, as the program is designed to benefit them and their money will pay the

costs. Men in office cannot in fact draft a sound plan without the co-operation and endorsement of the taxpayers. It seems, therefore, that any financial program should be drawn up by a group of citizens, either officially appointed or not, and having the co-operation of the city officials. Detroit's conclusion upon this subject appears to have been arrived at in both Kansas City and Toledo, where improvement programs were similarly prepared recently and submitted to the voters.

OUTLINING THE PROBLEM

The Detroit committee, in its approach to the problem, decided that the program should be an inclusive one, giving consideration to all the activities required to be financed by the city. Thus, the program should concern itself not only with current operation and maintenance, including debt service, but also public improvements and local improvements by special assessment. For all of these activities the citizens pay the bill, directly or indirectly, knowingly or unknowingly, willingly or unwillingly. Special and trust funds need not be considered, as the city's function here is merely that of a fiscal agent.

Of course, a program may be drafted at any time, but it should be planned to become effective at a fixed date in the future,—possibly the beginning of the next fiscal year. Thus, the estimates for operation may be based upon the latest experience, and capital items will be adjusted easily for authorizations up to that date. The Detroit program was outlined to become effective July 1, 1925, the next fiscal year, but in compiling estimates, attention had to be given, for example, to the fact that of the estimates of \$22,000,000 for public lighting, \$9,000,000 had already been approved by popular vote.

OFFICIAL CO-OPERATION NECESSARY

Possibly the first step in a ten-year program is to obtain the co-operation of the department heads. To assure this, the mayor addressed all officials, stating the purpose of the inquiry and requesting their co-operation. This was followed by a request that each submit his departmental estimates for the period. Some time was afforded for the careful preparation of these estimates, and for their review by the department head and the boards or commissions included. Even the independently elected board of education complied fully with this request.

PROCEDURE IN DRAFTING PROGRAM

It has been stated that a long-term financial chart should include both

current costs and public improvements. The officials submitted the two sets of estimates separately. Past experience served as a guide to operating costs, and graphs of the past ten years' expenditures, by departments, proved invaluable for guidance as to these costs. The figures of operative costs were subject to the adoption of the improvement program, and it was concluded that the annual operating cost for any new project would amount to at least ten per cent of its capital cost. The estimates for operation (from taxes) were placed at \$55,000,000 the first year, gradually increasing to \$88,000,000. It is probably unnecessary to add that allowance is made in such computations for income-producing activities. (See accompanying table.)

ESTIMATED OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE
BUDGETS, BY FUNDS, 1925-26 TO 1934-35*

Funds	Total	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1933-34	1934-35
City Plan	\$404,780	\$38,030	\$38,250	\$40,000	\$42,500	\$42,500
Recreation	7,430,396	615,396	615,000	650,000	870,000	900,000
Health	30,683,768	2,033,768	2,375,000	2,650,000	3,700,000	3,850,000
Water	26,702,549	1,602,549	2,214,000	2,358,000	3,220,000	3,364,000
School	255,232,800	17,597,800	18,355,000	21,145,000	31,885,000	33,875,000
Sinking Fund	48,128,972	6,312,333	4,902,366	4,884,061	4,441,057	4,404,443
Etc.—all funds						
Total	\$847,935,128	\$64,909,367	\$66,929,198	\$72,426,988	\$101,975,466	\$107,118,310
Less:						
Earnings and Credits	\$150,020,308	\$9,557,688	\$12,485,620	\$13,266,000	\$17,946,000	\$18,726,000
Net Total	\$697,914,820	\$55,351,679	\$54,143,578	\$59,160,988	\$84,029,466	\$88,392,310

*As this table is merely illustrative of form, the years between 1927-28 and 1933-34 are omitted.

The operation estimates are particularly necessary in computing the margin available from taxes to finance improvements, at any given tax rate and valuations for the term of years. Assuming an annual increase in assessed valuation of \$225,000,000, and a tax rate limited by charter, the balance after meeting operating costs was available for improvements.

The chief emphasis in considering the program here, however, is upon the capital items, as maintenance costs are

fairly well determined and stable, while the city is not committed to the improvements set forth by department heads.

CAPITAL IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM

After these estimates were received by the committee, they were tabulated by departments, the several projects and their cost being listed separately. The committee then computed the total of the tentative program, and outlined the manner in which it might be financed.

One of the most difficult phases of the committee's task was experienced at this stage, in listing the improvements in the order of their relative public necessity and desirability. It is obvious that public health, sanitation, water, and safety would come first, but continuing down the line with education, transportation, street lighting, and in fact everything from art to zoo, was not so easy.

After this task was done, at least tentatively, the committee was ready for conference with the officials upon their individual estimates. A statement was made of the financial problem confronting the city, showing the range of improvements, their aggregate cost, the manner of financing them, and the effect upon the tax rate. A tentative tax rate of \$20, designed to meet popular approval, was established, and the resultant amount of reduction necessary in the program indicated.

At this stage, various public and private groups and individuals were invited to attend the committee's hearings, and the board of commerce and other organizations and groups which had given extended thought to the city's financial problems stated their views.

MANNER OF FINANCING

A program involving all departments of a city, each with its particular class of improvements and betterments, may be financed from several sources—taxation, bond issues, departmental revenues, and special assessments.

In planning the revenue side of the budget, the local laws governing the availability of funds from each of these sources must be considered, in order to conform to the limitations established by statute or charter. Tables setting forth the city's financial condition with respect to each of these were before the committee.

It was not difficult to compute the margin available from taxation, at any given rate, after providing for all operating and debt charges. Usually the margin will be so small that it will be necessary to resort to other sources of revenue, as was the case with Detroit. That such tax limits are probably unsound affords no actual relief.

What tax rate will be fixed tentatively will depend not alone upon the legal limits for various purposes. It will depend also upon what rate such committee believes property owners will pay without being discouraged in promoting industry and home ownership. Furthermore, it will depend upon whether the committee favors the pay-as-you-go principle as against deferring the cost through borrowing. It may be deemed expedient to apply this principle at least in part, say for outlays of a recurring nature, although this was not done in Detroit.

It should be noted here that careful study should be made estimating the assessed valuation of taxable property over a long period. Undue increases arising from possible annexations, for example, should be taken into account only in event the improvement program provides for the extension of municipal services into those territories. What is the present tendency in assessing at full market value; and will the past rate of building construction continue? These problems were carefully considered by the Detroit committee.

It may be assumed that the primary source of revenue to finance an improvement program will be through the sale of bonds. Here, again, the statutory limitations for the several purposes must be taken into consideration. In this connection, it should be added that if the bonds are to be marketed in the eastern financial

centers, the limitations imposed by those states upon the investment by savings banks and other institutions (in New York, 7% of a city's valuation) must be observed. These foreign limitations may be more restrictive than the local limits, as in the case of Detroit, and to exceed them would impair the city's credit.

In some states, special assessments may be availed of rather extensively as a means of financing certain improvements. This source of revenue was proposed for street widenings, rapid transit, etc. It need only be stated that every city should give consideration to this source of revenue in any such planning, as it seems to afford a fertile field of revenue which has not been fully availed of in the past.

The fourth source of revenue is that of departmental earnings, for certain revenue-producing enterprises and departments, and requires no extended discussion.

REVISION OF ESTIMATES

The means of financing each item of the program were set out opposite the item, and a ten-year distribution made. With this information, the committee had before it the data to discuss and determine a program for the city, department by department, and item by item, that would meet the practical as well as legal financial requirements of the city. In other words, as reductions were made on the expenditure side of the ten-year program, offsetting reductions on the revenue side were made, until the limits upon taxes and bonds were met. A leeway of 10 per cent of the bond margin under the New York law was left to meet unforeseen requirements and afford a safe margin under all statutory limitations.

Thus, a revised program was evolved by the committee, showing, as in the case of the original estimates, the sev-

eral improvement projects, their cost, and the means of financing them. (See accompanying Table.) This was accompanied by a statement of the probable tax rate during the decade, were the program to be consummated in ten equal allotments.

OFFICIAL ACCEPTANCE DESIRABLE

It will be recognized that a ten-year program prepared in a manner similar to the foregoing would represent only the collective opinion of the committee, possibly reinforced by the endorsement of other citizens or citizen groups. It would have no official sanction.

The program as recommended was transmitted to the mayor, who referred it to the council, and gave it appropriate publicity. As with the annual operating budget, this program should be set for public hearings, and, as revised ultimately by the responsible public officials, be formally adopted as a guide to the public improvements to be made, although such action has not been taken in Detroit. Those issues requiring an expression of the electorate would be presented for their action at election time.

CONCLUSIONS

An initial experience in the drafting of such a financial plan for a term of years suggests the desirability of its revision from time to time. Numerous conditions will be found to exist which preclude the drafting of a definitely fixed program for a city for a long period. The population and area to be served over a ten-year period cannot be definitely determined; the desires of the people will create new and unforeseen needs, and anticipated requirements may be found unnecessary; legislation may change the basis of taxation and the laws respecting tax limits, bond issuance and bonding limits, etc.; all of which will have an immediate

ANNUAL BUDGET OF REVISED IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM
BY DEPARTMENTS AND METHOD OF FINANCING

Department	Method of Financing	Total Improvement Estimates As Revised by Committee	To Be Financed In Years **			
			1925-26	1926-27	1933-34	1934-35
Health.....	Bonds*	\$4,000,000	\$1,500,000	\$1,500,000	\$250,000	\$250,000
	Taxation	500,000	250,000	250,000		
	Total	4,500,000				
Parks.....	Bonds	2,500,000	150,000	150,000	400,000	350,000
	Taxation	5,000,000	200,000	200,000	700,000	700,000
	Total	7,500,000				
Recreation.....	Bonds	1,964,000	150,000	150,000	400,000	314,000
	Taxation	230,500	56,000	30,000	10,000	4,500
	Total	2,194,500				
City Plan.....	Bonds	12,384,776	1,000,000	1,000,000	2,500,000	2,611,776
	Taxation	8,066,238	6,508	95,933	1,096,208	1,304,150
	Special assessment	42,603,043	4,260,000	4,260,000	4,260,000	4,260,043
	Total	63,054,057				
Etc., for all departments						
Grand Total....	Bonds—gen.	\$214,959,564	\$30,670,000	\$19,531,500	\$28,528,300	\$29,437,876
	Special assessment under 7 per cent New York Law	18,078,043	4,260,000	3,195,000		
		\$233,037,607	\$34,930,000	\$22,726,500	\$28,528,300	\$29,437,876
	Water bonds, not subject to 7 per cent Law	58,153,000	17,000,000	8,000,000	2,000,000	8,000,000
	Special assessments (to mature)	45,450,000		1,065,000	7,260,000	7,260,000
	Dep'tal revenues	10,085,000	963,500	953,500	1,653,500	1,653,500
	Taxation	98,265,268	6,358,008	6,569,598	8,708,126	9,348,771
Total Revised Program.....		\$444,990,875	\$59,251,508	\$39,314,598	\$48,149,926	\$55,700,147

* Note: \$3,000,000 bonds authorized by vote of people, April 4, 1921.

** As this table is merely illustrative of form, the years between 1926-27 and 1933-34 are omitted.

effect upon the program as originally outlined and recommended.

The results of a representative group of citizens serving upon a committee having for its purpose the drafting of such a program are salutary both to the city and themselves. Many circumstances affecting the city's finances and welfare are brought to light, with the

result that changes are recommended whenever they are deemed desirable. These proposals may affect the organization policies, personnel, and in fact every phase of the city's financial and business practices, which if adopted would be permanently reflected in the economy and effectiveness of the public service.

THE INTERCITY MOTORBUS IN KENTUCKY

BY JOHN J. GEORGE, JR.

University of Kentucky

This article discusses the regulation of motorbus transportation in Kentucky. The growing importance of the subject is stressed. :: ::

THE magnitude of motorbus transportation in Kentucky warrants some inquiry into this recently developed, rapidly growing business. Attention here will be given to only those passenger motorbus lines operating between fixed points, and not to lines operating entirely within a municipality.

Three hundred and twenty-four bus lines have been authorized to operate; some 500 buses are in service. To keep these going requires from 700 to 1000 employees. The buses traverse 3,500 miles of the public highways; run 30,000 miles daily and carry from 5,000 to 6,000 passengers daily. No figures for total value of equipment of the bus lines are available, but a conservative estimate puts the value of property devoted to motorbus transportation at \$1,500,000.

A few of the intercity motorbus lines in Kentucky are also interstate. The regulation of these as agencies of interstate commerce is of special interest to the student of state-federal relations. Under United States Supreme Court decisions handed down early in 1925,¹ the state may establish uniform requirement for motorbuses, interstate as well as intrastate, operating on its highways; a graduated license fee imposed on motor vehicles engaged in interstate commerce is not "a direct burden on such commerce." State regulations for promoting safety and

conserving the highways as applied to interstate motorbus transportation are valid so long as the regulations are not unreasonable. But the commerce clause forbids the obstruction of this interstate commerce.

PUBLIC CONTROL

Public control of intercity bus business is centered in the state highway commission; but the auto-bus transportation department, a division of the commission, exercises immediate power of supervision. Motorbus legislation lays down general provisions, leaving the commission powers of discretion in regard to details. Other agencies concerned in the public administration of this activity are the county clerk, the federal internal revenue collector, and the courts. How these agencies assist in administration can be illustrated by the process of establishing a bus line, and the operation thereof.

The individual (or group) who wishes to operate a bus line between fixed points applies to the commission for a permit. If there is no bus service on the route named in application, the petitioner is most likely to get the permit. If there is already bus service on the route named, the permit will be issued provided public convenience and necessity warrant such. In other words, a permit is not exclusive; herein the factor of competition is recognized and protected. For example, between Lexington and Cincinnati two through lines are operating, and at each end of

¹ *Michigan Public Utilities Commission vs. Duke*, decided January 12; *Buck vs. Kuykendall*, decided March 2.

the route two "local" lines. Three through bus lines operate between Lexington and Frankfort, along side the electric line.

FEE FOR PERMIT TO OPERATE

The fee for the permit depends on the seating capacity of the bus the petitioner proposes to run. For a motor vehicle having a capacity of not more than five passengers, the fee is \$2.50 per seat; six to seven passengers, \$5 per seat; eight to twenty passengers, \$10 per seat; above twenty passengers, \$15 per seat. The law allows no motor vehicle of more than thirty-passenger capacity to run on the highways, and no greater load than 10 per cent above seating capacity. The permit is good for the calendar year, and is renewable at the end of the year if the holder has complied with statutory and regulatory requirements.

The permit secured, the bus line must have its vehicles registered (just as does the owner of a private automobile) with the county clerk, who issues the license plates. By the law of March 27, 1924, motor vehicles above seven-passenger capacity are classified as trucks; the registration fee is graduated according to weight of vehicle. A thousand-pound truck, for example, must pay a fee of \$20; the fee ranges upward to \$215 for a 10,000-pound truck, plus \$20 for each additional ton above the 10,000 pounds.

Persons operating passenger automobiles for hire must pay to the United States internal revenue collector an annual tax based on seating capacity of vehicle. A vehicle of from two to seven-passenger capacity pays \$10; above seven-passenger, \$20. It is said that the fees for permit, for registration, internal revenue, and all other taxes on the average motor bus total \$529.

Bus drivers are licensed by the county clerk who issues chauffeur's badges,

which are easy to obtain, the only requirement being that the applicant be recommended to the clerk by two persons who have known applicant for sixty days, and payment of fee of \$1; the license is good for one year.

STATE REGULATIONS

In addition to authorizing the commission to issue permits, the law of 1924 empowers the commission to supervise auto-bus companies, to determine rates of fare, to require reports whenever and on whatever phase of relationship between the public and the company the commission sees fit; and to issue rules and regulations consistent with law. Failure of company to comply with these rules is ground for changing, suspending, even revoking the permit. In the revoking of a permit, as in deciding any motorbus matter over which the commission has authority, the decision of the commission is not necessarily final; appeal lies to Franklin County Circuit Court, thence to the Court of Appeals, the highest court in Kentucky. Resort to the court is rare: 99 per cent of the cases before the commission are settled without going to court. This speaks well for the commission as a quasi-judicial agency.

SAFETY REQUIREMENTS

No special safety requirements have been specified by law; but the commission has directed that buses stop at railway crossings. Motorbus lines are not required to furnish liability insurance or bonds. Serious injuries, though, are very unusual. In the eighteen months beginning June, 1924, only three people have been killed, and in each instance the bus driver was exonerated. Two of the three deaths resulted from a wreck with the bus, but the driver of the car, himself seriously injured and dying later, signed a statement that he, and not

the bus driver, was responsible for the accident. Claims for damages against the bus lines are rare. In only one case has the claims for damages had to be taken to court. This is remarkable in view of the fact that the bus lines carry something like 2,000,000 passengers a year.

In rate fixing, the commission uses as a basis chiefly the number of miles traveled and condition of highway over which the bus runs. Rates are not fixed for a definite period, but are subject to change to meet conditions. At present the rates range from 2.5 to 8 cents per passenger-mile, the average being about 3.2 cents. A conservative estimate places the amount of fares collected in the state by intercity lines at \$7,500 daily.

SUGGESTED LEGISLATION

The supervisor of auto-bus transportation favors legislation providing as follows:

1. That permits be indeterminate, but revocable on failure of holder to comply with laws and regulations.¹ Such a change would relieve the administration of the annual burden of renewing permits.

2. That a permit granted must be acted on in a bona fide manner within sixty days as a pledge of good faith. This proposal would prevent the pre-emption of establishing a given line till the holder of permit finds circumstances more convenient.

3. That if holder of permit abandons the operation of a bus line for more than thirty days, he thereby forfeits the permit, unless the commission should rule otherwise.

4. That all bus drivers be examined

in regard to intelligence, moral qualifications, and mechanical knowledge.

5. That motorbuses carry an extra tire and skid chains; also that motorbuses stop at all railway crossings.

6. That speed limit on highways be raised from thirty to thirty-five miles an hour, the municipalities to be free to prescribe lower speed in their limits if they desire.

7. That idemnity bonds and insurance be required of bus lines.

As Associate Justice McReynolds said in case of *Buck vs. Kuykendall*, "extraordinary difficulties" are arising from the rapidly increasing motorbus transportation, "and as yet nobody knows definitely what should be done." This situation obtains in Kentucky. Proper public control can proceed only on adequate information on the various phases of the bus business. While the law of 1924 gives the commission power to require annual and special reports on such important matters as total capital invested, annual volume of business, and valuation of property of motorbus lines, there are available no comprehensive data. Since for 27 years the rule of law in the United States has been that public service companies are entitled to a "fair return on fair value," it is imperative that fair value of motorbus property be determined in order that rates reasonable to both bus lines and to consumers be established. Here is the basic problem in motorbus regulation. Data on volume of business, cost of service, and the like can be secured by use of the power already given the commission to require annual and special reports from motorbus companies. Getting reliable data on valuation and instituting systematic reporting on the various phases of motorbus activity will serve as the basis on which an enlightened, effective regulation of motorbus transportation can be established.

¹The revocable permit for public service companies became operative in Oklahoma July 10, 1925; total of nine states now have revocable permit. See *Public Service Magazine*, August, 1925, pp. 52-3.

CRIMINAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR STATEMENTS IN RECALL CHARGES

BY SAM B. WARNER

University of Oregon Law School

A discussion of the prosecutions for criminal libel in connection with the recall elections in Kelso, Washington. :: :: :: ::

FOR over a year a bitter political battle has been raging in the city of Kelso, Washington. The leaders of the opposing factions have had to defend themselves from civil suits as well as from criminal prosecutions ranging from prosecutions for murder to mere neglect of official duty. Numerous recalls have done their part to augment the bitterness of the struggle. Mayor Todd faced the recall four times before he was finally deposed. But this mêlée, though vital to the citizens of Kelso, would scarcely be of general interest were it not for one criminal prosecution in which the decision turned upon the liability to prosecution for criminal libel of the signers of the charge preliminary to a recall petition. It is this case and its bearing upon recall elections, which it is the purpose of this article to discuss.

Fourteen citizens of Kelso filed with the city clerk a charge for the recall of the city attorney. The charge read:

Said . . . (city attorney's name) has entered into a conspiracy with the violators of the liquor laws of the state of Washington, the United States of America, and the ordinances of the city of Kelso, as evidenced by his determined effort to keep a police force which has proved totally incompetent of enforcing the laws, and which he knows to be protecting immoral women, bootleggers and gamblers within the city of Kelso. That he has committed many acts of misfeasance and malfeasance while in office to obstruct and prevent the executive officials of

Kelso from performing their duties in violation of his oath of office.

The city attorney got the prosecuting attorney of Cowlitz County, the county in which Kelso is situated, to file an information in the circuit court against these citizens for libel. The defendants were arrested and thrown into jail. Some retracted the charge and were released, others were released on bail, but several declined to furnish bail and stayed in jail pending trial.

Counsel for the defendants demurred to the information on three grounds:

1. That the information does not state facts sufficient to constitute a crime under the laws of the state of Washington.

2. That the acts charged as criminal in this information are privileged.

3. That the acts charged in the information constitute a political, and not a judicial, question for determination, and that the court has no jurisdiction over the same.

The judge sustained the demurrer on the first two grounds, but said that he was uncertain about the third and that it was unnecessary to pass upon it.

The defendants were thereupon released and the recall petition was circulated, though the state appealed, as it is permitted to do in such cases in Washington. So it is possible that the Supreme Court of Washington may be called upon to pass on the criminal liability for libelous statements in recall

charges. But it is more than likely that the criminal prosecution was brought in the hope that it would deter people from signing the recall petition and that now that the recall is over, the prosecuting attorney will not be sufficiently interested in settling the legal question involved to push the case.

STEPS IN RECALL PROCEEDINGS

Two distinct steps are necessary to effect a recall election in Washington. First, a charge must be made, signed and verified against the elective official whose removal is desired and filed with the proper officer, who in this case was the city clerk. Second, after the charge is filed, a petition must be drawn up by the officer with whom it is filed, and circulated for the signatures of a certain percentage of the legal voters. When sufficient signatures have been obtained, the petition is returned to the officer with whom the charges were filed and used as the basis for authorizing the recall election.

The present case arose solely on the charges and involves as defendants only those who signed and verified them. It in no way involves those legal voters who may have signed the subsequent recall petition. It is conceivable, though not probable, that the courts might hold the signers of the charge for criminal libel, when they would not hold the signers of the recall petition, on the ground that greater care in investigating the truth of the accusations should be taken by those few citizens who draw up the charge than could be expected of the large number of citizens who sign the recall petition at the request of some circulator. But the court made no such distinction in the present case and no court ever has made such a distinction. Whether such a distinction should be made or not, if the court was correct

in not holding the signers of the charge answerable for statements in it in a prosecution for criminal libel, then obviously the signers of the subsequent recall petition would not be liable.

LIBELOUS CHARGE

The charge in the present case is clearly libelous. It accuses the city attorney of malfeasance in office and the violation of his oath of office, if not also with a crime. The natural tendency of such a charge would be to expose the city attorney to hatred, ridicule and contempt, and to deprive him of the benefit of public confidence and social intercourse, as well as to injure him in his profession as a lawyer.

There are at least two reasons why the charge contained a libel. First, it would undoubtedly be difficult to get signers for a recall petition if the petition stated that the person whose recall was sought was an honest and able public servant, but the signers thought he had best be recalled. People feel that unless a public servant has committed a crime or something very close to it, he should not be recalled. Second, the Washington recall statute differs from that of most states in providing that no official can be recalled unless charged with misconduct in office.

When the judge sustained the demurrer on the ground that the libelous accusations made in the recall charges were privileged, he necessarily held that they were absolutely privileged, for if they were only partially privileged the defendants would have to make the defense that they acted without malice and believed upon reasonable grounds that their accusations were true.

If a libelous communication is absolutely privileged then the defendant is not responsible for it either criminally or civilly, even though when he made the accusation he knew it to be false

and made it out of malice. If a libelous communication is partially privileged, the defendant is protected if he acted without malice and believed upon reasonable grounds that the accusations were true. In the case of unprivileged libels the defendant must prove that his accusation is true if he is to escape responsibility.

A judge while trying a case once said of one of the parties before him: "You are a harpy preying upon the vitals of the poor." The party sued the judge claiming that the statement was both malicious and untrue. But the court held that even if this were so, the judge was not responsible, because the public policy in favor of encouraging a judge to speak out boldly in the trial of cases is so great that judges must not be discouraged from speaking their minds freely by the possibility of a libel suit.¹ Similarly any speech made in Congress or in a state legislature is absolutely privileged.² But the law is very jealous of absolute privilege and the cases in which it is granted are very few.

PARTIAL PRIVILEGE

A far larger number of communications are partially privileged, that is the defendant is not responsible if he acted without malice and believed upon reasonable grounds that his accusations were true.³ Such communications are

those made between two or more people each having an interest or duty in the matter under discussion. The words duty and interest as here used include moral and social as well as legal duties and interests. For example, a citizen petitions the governor to remove the clerk of a court. If the citizen acted without malice and with a reasonable belief in the truth of his accusations, he has not subjected himself to either a civil or a criminal prosecution for libel, even though his accusations are false. A citizen has a social duty to petition the proper authorities for the removal of an official whom he believes unworthy. The governor, as the person who in the state in question had the power of removing clerks of courts, had an interest in receiving such petitions. Similarly a communication made to the voters concerning the qualifications of a candidate for public office is held in many states to be partially privileged, though similar statements made concerning a person not a candidate or to people not voters, would not be privileged.⁴

Since the protection of partial privilege is everywhere allowed to those who write libelous petitions to the proper authorities for the removal of non-elective officers, the same protection should be afforded to those who seek to remove elective officials by a recall. This should be particularly true in those states in which libels on candidates in an ordinary election are partially privileged. The communication is made as much between people each having an interest or duty in the matter in question in one case as in the

¹ *Scott vs. Stansfield*, L. R. 3 Ex. 220; *Newell on Slander and Libel* (4th ed.) sec. 360; 36 C. J. 1255.

² *Coffin vs. Coffin*, 4 Mass. 1, 3 Am. Dec. 189; *McGaw vs. Hamilton*, 148 Penn. 108; 39 A. 4; 63 Am. St. Rep. 786; *Newell on Slander and Libel* (4th ed.) sec. 352; 36 C. J. 1260.

³ The authorities are divided as to whether the defendant must believe on reasonable grounds that his accusations are true. See *Hodgkins vs. Gallagher*, 122 Me. 112, 119 A. 68 (reasonable grounds necessary); *Barry vs. McCollom*, 81 Conn. 293, 70 A. 1035, 129 Am. St. Rep. 215 (contra); 36 C. J. 1218.

⁴ The authorities are divided as to whether untrue statements concerning candidates are partially privileged. See *Briggs vs. Garrett*, 111 Penn. 404, 2 A. 513, 56 Am. Rep. 274; *Upton vs. Hume*, 24 Or. 420, 33 P. 810, 41 Am. St. Rep. 863, 21 L. R. A. 493; 36 C. J. 1286-7.

other. If public policy requires that a person be free to give the electors his opinion of a candidate for office at an ordinary election without first making certain that he can prove the truth of his allegations to the satisfaction of a jury, it requires that the same freedom be enjoyed as to candidates at recall elections. It is as much the moral and social duty of a citizen to petition the electors for the removal of an elective official as it is to petition the person having the appointive power for the removal of a non-elective official.

The defendants can, of course, in all cases defend themselves by proving that the libelous charges are true. Though originally truth was not a defense in criminal libel, it now is in almost every jurisdiction. But the fact that he has the privilege of keeping himself out of jail by proving to the satisfaction of a jury that the libelous statements contained in a recall charge or petition are true, would be small consolation to the average signer of such a charge or petition. Everybody knows that there is a great deal of hazard connected with every trial. Evidence that will convince one jury will not satisfy the next. Witnesses may die or leave the jurisdiction. They may not say the same thing on the witness stand under oath that they said in private conversation. The case may turn upon the eloquence of one of the attorneys or even upon the jury's regard for his personality and demeanor in the court room.

LIMITATIONS ON RECALL

So if the only defense open to the signers of a charge for a recall petition is that the charge of misconduct in office, which charge is necessarily libelous and in Washington must be made to effect a recall, is true, it is doubtful if many people can be found who will sign a recall charge from a

sense of civic duty alone. The class of citizens who now file such charges will scarcely venture to do so. Before one could sign charges safely it would be necessary to hire counsel and have a careful survey made of the available evidence and its probable effect upon a jury. Certainly the ordinary signer of a recall petition would not sign if he thought there was a real chance of his being prosecuted for libel if he were unable to prove the truth of the accusations contained in the petition he was being asked to sign.

The recall doubtless has a certain sphere of usefulness as an expeditious means of removing from office officials who have been convicted of crime, but it is also designed to handle two other classes of cases. First, the case in which the public official has committed an act which is unbecoming a public official, but is not a crime, and second, the case in which the evidence against the official is strong enough to cause the voters to lose confidence in him and so desire his removal, but not strong enough to make it at all certain that a jury acting under the limitations of the rules of evidence would be convinced of his guilt.

If the recall is to function in the second case, the signers of recall charges, as well as the signers of recall petitions, must be protected from criminal prosecution when they believe the official guilty but are not able to prove his guilt to the satisfaction of a jury. Such protection might well be given to the signers of recall charges and petitions even in those states in which libels on candidates in an ordinary election are not partially privileged. In an ordinary election the voters may refuse to reelect an official for many reasons other than their belief that he has been guilty of malfeasance in office. But the recall election is designed to remove only

those who are guilty of improper conduct.

Further, the idea of the recall is that the question whether the official has been guilty of misconduct in office shall be tried out not in the courts, but by the electors. For the courts to deny the protection of partial privilege to libels in recall charges and petitions is for them to try the question intended to be tried by the voters. But it would not necessarily be improper for the courts to do this, if their doing so did not necessarily prevent the voters from also trying the question. But, as we have seen, the natural tendency of restricting the signers of recall charges and petitions to the defense of truth, is to limit the use of the recall to those cases in which the truth of the accusations is beyond question.

Libelous accusations in recall charges and petitions should therefore be at

least partially privileged. Whether they should be absolutely privileged is questionable. As has been stated, the law is very jealous of absolute privilege, for to grant that privilege is to give complete immunity from liability for false communications made maliciously and with knowledge of their falsity. That protection is not granted to petitions for the recall of appointive officials or to statements made to the voters concerning candidates seeking election. Neither in many states are communications made to policemen, district attorneys and other officials accusing people of crimes absolutely privileged. It seems probable therefore that the judge in the case under consideration granted the defendants more protection than he was justified in giving them, when he held libelous accusations in recall charges absolutely privileged.

THE THIRD CONFERENCE ON THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS

BY ARNOLD BENNETT HALL

University of Wisconsin

A résumé of the work of the third meeting of the National Conference on the Science of Politics held at Columbia University, September 7-11, 1925. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

THE purpose of the Conference as announced in the official invitation was "to unite those interested in political research in a common attack upon the problems of technique and method." One hundred and eight persons came in answer to this invitation, ninety-six of whom became regular members of the Conference. They represented twenty-three states and four foreign countries. The larger delegations were

distributed as follows: New York, 21; Pennsylvania, 11; Illinois, 10; Wisconsin and Massachusetts, 7 each; Oklahoma and Vermont, 5 each; and Iowa, New Hampshire and California, 4 each. One of the unavoidable but encouraging difficulties of the meeting was that about half of the members were attending for the first time, making difficult any continuity of effort with preceding meetings, and perceptibly

retarding that unity of purposes and ideals so essential to effective conference. This, however, is one of the inherent handicaps under which any movement must labor during its expanding years. The bright side of this situation was reflected in the enthusiastic response from most of those attending for the first time.

Unfortunately there were some casual visitors not interested in the problem of method and a few reformers who consistently ignored the avowed purpose of this Conference, and whose confidence in their own opinions made the slow moving methods of scientific inquiry seem not only unnecessary, but wicked impediments to the achievement of the panaceas which they offered to a worried and wearied world. In the minds of these reformers, the painstaking methodology of the scientist is simply a stupid or pharisaical excuse for refusing to enter the promised land. These reformers we have with us always, but on some occasions they are more effectively handled than on others.

Despite these difficulties and irritations which are material only in giving a glimpse of the background, the Conference stimulated some profound thinking. On every hand there was genuine concern as to whether the Conference was doing its best. The importance of devising objective methods for political research was generally admitted, although two years before much of the time of the Conference was devoted to arriving at a common consciousness of this impelling need. In order to understand and articulate the problems and doubts as they appeared to the members of the Conference, the writer has talked to as many members as possible, has read carefully the reports of the round tables, has corresponded at some length with members who had been giving it special thought,

and sent out a questionnaire to all the members of the Conference. This was returned by fifty-nine.

OPINIONS ON THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE

From these various sources of information there has emerged a striking unanimity of opinion regarding four matters that seem to reflect the work and problems of the Conference. The first point of general agreement was that there were some members—too many, doubtless—who absorbed much but contributed little. So far as this accurately reflects the situation it is significant. For unless there is a clash of carefully considered convictions, the Conference loses its vitality. A small number of non-participating observers is unavoidable and necessary. There will always be the newcomer and the member whose eleventh hour decision has prevented adequate preparation. But a substantial nucleus of those whose preliminary thought and experience have qualified them for intelligent participation is the irreducible minimum requisite to successful accomplishment.

Several of the groups have been successful in maintaining this irreducible minimum. A survey of their work points to co-operative research as the available solution of the problem. This involves the breaking up of the research problem into its constituent parts, the assignment of each part to a member of the group, and a serious piece of research by each member in applying the proposed method to his part of the investigation. Much of the round table session is then devoted to group criticism of the proposed method as illustrated in the research done. Where the subject lends itself to continuous work through two or three sessions, as is generally the case, co-operative research seems to yield its

largest dividends and affords the most reliable assurance that the members will contribute rather than absorb.

The second matter that has aroused a question in many minds is the relation of method to practical problems. A number have raised the question as to whether we have not gone far enough on the matter of method and are not now ready for tackling the solution of practical problems. "We can't go on studying method forever" has been the dictum frequently uttered with an air of finality that ought to be disconcerting. While from a still smaller group of men there comes the idea that the Conference must give its time to solving practical problems. The idea seems to be that the work of the Conference should be so arranged that the public administrator could attend and find the solutions for the problems that will be awaiting him in his office upon his return.

The questions and suggestions all raise different aspects of the central problem of the Conference, viz., the practical value of attacking the problem of method and the best way of doing it. To those who value objectivity in politics, who believe that the key to our political problems is to be found in the facts of our political experience and in the principles of human behavior that explain them, there can be no doubt about the practical value of discovering the method by which political phenomena may be scientifically studied and interpreted.

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD

Scientific method is the only escape from the state of "jungle politics" in which we are, to the science of politics we are all seeking to attain. The essential difference between the efficiency of the primitive medicine man and the scientific physician of to-day is found in the methods they employ. The

marvelous discoveries of modern science remained hidden secrets until inquiring minds devised various techniques of research, by which phenomena could be isolated, measured, observed, analyzed and finally understood. This development of the technique of material science has been going on for generations and centuries, and the modern scientist is still working at the eternal job. Einstein's theory of relativity was but a new challenge to scientific scholars to devise a method for testing its validity. If the analogies from other disciplines be any guide, the study of method must go on forever. For when it stops the progress of human knowledge ends.

But this is not saying that we must study method for method's sake. There can be no effective study of method separate from the problem to which it is appropriate. So far as the writer knows, no one has suggested a frontal attack upon the problem. The policy of the Conference has been to postulate a specific project for each group, with the purpose that the round table concerned would analyze the problem into its constituent elements, and devise a scientific method of attack. The ideal situation is where the group continues its work for two or three sessions. This allows the individual members to assume responsibility for testing out the proposed method in actual research. The results are then submitted as a basis of criticism, discussion, and modification by the group.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION

While the Conference will always concern itself with the question of method as applied to concrete problems, the emphasis should be on the formulation of the technique rather than the solution of the problem. The application of a proposed method in

actual investigation is not the kind of a task to which the Conference is adapted. This requires the collection of data, field observation, the operation of controlled experiments where possible, and the analytical treatment and classification of phenomena noted. This is the painstaking, slow moving, laborious task of scholarship which is obviously unsuited to the inherent limitations of an annual Conference. If those who argue that the Conference should become more practical, mean that it should devote its time and energy to the solution of research problems, rather than outlining a plan of scientific attack, they argue in favor of a program that is impossible and which would carry upon its very face the admission that its work would not be scholarly and its results would not be scientific. If there are those whose conception of practicality in the field of research demands that the results of every week's work must be something that is immediately applicable to the solution of an existing problem, then the writer must file a vigorous dissent. Practicality must be determined by its ultimate service to mankind. The besetting sin of social science to-day is that it has sought immediate practicality rather than ultimate truth. We have developed a kind of political prudence but not a political science. Some of the most practical research in the history of science has proceeded for years without the slightest contribution apparent to the eye of the unimaginative. Some of the most practical discoveries have been scientifically completed years before their practical application occurred to the minds of the practical men. To destroy research activity because at the end of a week's effort no practical results had become apparent would be the counsel of destruction.

If, however, by urging that the work

of the Conference be made more practical it is meant that it ought to be tied up more closely with the actual investigation that is being done, and the writer suspects this is the underlying thought in most cases, the writer is in entire accord. The work of the round table could be given a great impetus if it was so arranged that the research work of the individual could be correlated with that of the group. In fact, this has been done in several cases with excellent results. It is true, however, in a number of cases, either that members were not engaged in research, or if so, that there was no effective effort to correlate the individual's activity with that of the group. It has been hoped that with the wide assortment of subjects offered, most members could find a group whose discussions would be broad enough to include their difficulties of method and technique. That this is not an idle dream is evidenced by the fact that of the fifty-nine persons who responded to the questionnaire, twenty-nine replied that they were using the results of the Conference in their own research, and in answering the question as to what was the main element of value, twenty declared it was the inspiration and direction they received for their own investigations. This practical character of the work could be greatly enhanced if each member would communicate to the director of his group something of his own difficulties and problems. This would enable the director to make out a program for his group that would be both more practical and realistic.

The third point on which there was common agreement was that there should be greater preparation both on the part of the leaders and the led. That the success of the venture will be largely determined by the preliminary work of the members seems obvious. This will involve more contact between

the directors and the members in advance. The writer tried out his agenda upon a graduate seminar for a semester, with the result that it was a much more finished piece of work that was submitted to his group than would otherwise have been possible. Other directors are now using their round table reports as agenda for their seminars who will test out the methods and make their results available for discussion at the next meeting of the group. There are innumerable ways in which this problem may be met. The obstacles in the way of meeting them are simply the well-known human frailties of procrastination, preoccupation and fatigue.

The fourth matter that deserves comment was the continued conviction that the co-operation of allied disciplines, particularly psychology and statistics, is especially essential if maximum progress in the improvement of method is to be achieved. It seems clear that the various social disciplines are all interested in different aspects of the same body of phenomena, human behavior. Politics is concerned with so much of human behavior as is concerned with political situations. Psychology, however, is concerned with the whole field of human behavior, and it has made notable contributions of method and technique that will afford useful analogies to the student of politics. There is reason to regard political science as a form of applied psychology, and to expect that psychology may bear something of the same relation to politics that physics bears to engineering. Whether true or not, the idea presents an interesting hypothesis.

The Executive Committee is now seeking to secure certain financial support for the Conference, and there is evidence that its efforts will be successful. The committee hopes to be able to secure attendance and co-opera-

tion of representatives of at least two of the allied disciplines for each of the round tables in order that they may have the benefit of the suggestions and points of view of the different disciplines. It is believed that this arrangement would add materially to the success of the enterprise.

RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE

Now what were the concrete results of the Conference? This can best be determined by what it has meant to those who participated. Of the fifty-nine members who answered the questionnaire, twenty-nine were using the results of the Conference as a basis of seminar or thesis work, and the same number were using it in their own research. Nineteen thought that the most useful result of the Conference was stimulation and direction for their own research. One instructor, burdened with a heavy teaching schedule, said he had become discouraged of ever getting down to investigation until he began attending the Conference. Under its inspiration and guidance he was now making definite progress. Two others made similar statements. Nineteen expected to do research on the problems of their round table and report back at the next Conference. Forty-two voted in favor of continuing the Conference, seven were doubtful, and no one voted against it.

FUTURE OF THE CONFERENCE

What about the future of the Conference? This was entrusted to the decision of the Executive Committee. As previously indicated the committee is engaged in securing funds to finance a future program. It is believed that if the directors are given a modest honorarium, and small allowance for stenographic assistance, the leaders could find it possible to do some of the preliminary work of preparation that is so

essential to the most effective conference. So if expense money were available for each leader to secure the assistance of two or three members from allied disciplines it would add another element that would be stimulating and helpful. Whether or not adequate financial support will be available ought to be determined soon, but until then no definite announcement can be made.

In conclusion there is one matter that ought not to pass unnoticed. It has been suggested that in the scientific movement political science is in danger of losing its soul; that in the concentration upon the problems of political method we are ignoring the problem of political ethics. It is suggested that it is futile to develop the technique of political engineering, unless we have an ideal or vision of the political structure that we want to build. This is surely a timely warning if there are those who think that science alone can solve the ultimate problems of politics. For while ethical standards and spiritual vision are futile without the knowledge of political engineering through which they can be creatively expressed, it is equally obvious that a science of politics without any ideal of the ends to be attained will be impotent and sterile. The architect cannot realize his artistic dreams except upon the foundation of structural engineering, and engineering

research would be in vain were not its products utilized by the creative genius of the builder.

The problem of ethics has not appeared upon the Conference program, not because it was thought of no importance, but because it did not seem cognate to the problem of scientific objectivity. It seems impossible, however, that men would give their time and energy to the science of politics, unless back of the desire for scientific technique there is the dynamic power of political and spiritual ideals. It is inconceivable to the writer that there can be any great political program without the union of two vital forces—the technique of objective science and the motivating power of a great ideal. Nor does it seem probable that great research projects in political engineering are likely to be completed unless back of the wearying toil, the unceasing labor and the infinite patience of the scholar, there is the sustained dynamic power of spiritual vision. For in the last analysis the end of social science is an effective technique of social control, and when that technique is achieved, we must have some end towards which this control is to be directed. And that end must be the highest welfare of society. And in determining what constitutes the highest welfare of society it will be ethical insight and spiritual vision that will play the dominating rôle.

RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

THE HOMICIDE PROBLEM. By Frederick L. Hoffman, Consulting Statistician, Prudential Insurance Co. The Prudential Press, Oct. 1925. Pp. 106.

This pamphlet consists of a series of short articles and letters to the press which have appeared over the author's name in the course of the past thirteen years. It deals for the most part with the rising tide of homicides as indicated by the mortality statistics annually published by the Bureau of the Census. The problem which Dr. Hoffman treats is admitted to have assumed serious proportions. To our mind this fact does not excuse him for falling into a habit which has become all too common with statisticians. He insists on translating his figures into other terms. Thus "on the basis of a conservative estimate, there are certainly not less than 10,000 murder deaths a year in this country, which, if placed in a single line, with ten feet to a grave, would fill a trench nearly two hundred miles long!" Given a sufficiently long period of time, and enough grave-diggers, this trench could be made to extend from New York to San Francisco, which seems to be the accepted termini for all such statistical presentations. Dr. Hoffman runs out of figures and fails to carry his trench to its logical destination. With the basic facts here given, however, the reader can do his own computing.

BRUCE SMITH.



THE ART OF TOWN PLANNING. By H. V. Lanchester. New York: Charles Scribner & Sons. \$7.50.

This is a welcome addition to the growing library of books that deal with the arts and sciences related to city and town planning. The author, who is an eminent architect, has highest claims to speak with authority on the subject. His firm was responsible for the design of the Cardiff Town Hall, which, with the surrounding buildings, is the best modern achievement in England in the direction of creating a dignified civic center. He was one of the founders of the Town Planning Institute, of which he is a past-president, and has been a close student of every aspect of the subject for many years. Mr. Lanchester

writes as an architect with a loyalty and enthusiasm for his art and an insistence on the professional claims of the architect to be dominant in town planning, which cause him to be somewhat sparing in his recognition of phases of his subject that are not directly concerned with the design of buildings.

His suggestion that town planning consists in the main of "the design of buildings in relation to each other" indicates a bias towards one element in city building in spite of his going on to say that "there are other considerations that enter into the town planner's program not hitherto regarded as within the architect's province, such as horticulture and arboriculture, and the still more important one of achieving a harmonious relationship between nature and the works of man." Then he admits also that there are practical and economic questions that are not architectural in character. A reading of the 25 chapters in the book shows emphatically that the collaboration of the architect, the landscape architect and engineer is essential in town or city planning, and that the question of who should be dominant is based on psychological and other factors that have no regard to the particular professional groove within which the town planner has been trained.

Mr. Raymond Unwin in his address to the International Conference in April last put the case, as to dominance in city planning, in the right perspective when he said:—"It is the presence and coöperation of the right faculties which is important, not the professional names given to their possessors."

The first part of the book, dealing with the historical phases of the subject, is most fascinating reading. It deals, probably at sufficient length for both student and layman, with the history of the art in ancient, medieval and renaissance periods.

Mr. Lanchester considers that for towns of moderate size on fairly level sites, the practical advantages are in favor of a rectangular plan; but he admits that the idealistic design of Perret de Chambéry, which adopts a polygonal outline within a scheme of fortifications, is a logical treatment of a diagram for the ideal city. With a level site, surely the combination of radial and

rectangular lines, would be not only the most ideal and logical but the most practical. The author realizes the limitations of axial and symmetrical planning which follows the lines of architectural planning on a grand scale, and shows his appreciation of the need of compliance with natural features.

Having regard to the background of English town planning, the author naturally begins Part II, dealing with "The Present Day" with a chapter on civic hygiene, and indicates how the modern town planning movement in England received its inspiration from the garden cities and the garden suburbs. He proceeds to show how it is necessary to study topography, history, economics, housing, communications, hygiene, education, recreation, aesthetics and administration, for the purpose of developing a plan.

It is when dealing with the historical growth of town planning and development of civic centers, and such problems as those relating to scale, proportion and the furnishing of streets, that Mr. Lanchester is at his best. When he gets in touch with the humdrum details of preliminary studies we find him more or less summarizing what has been said before, rather than giving us any new ideas on the subject.

The chapters on scale and proportion, tradition, modern practice, and technical methods, are all too brief. There is great need of more enlightenment on these subjects from specialists having the wide experience and artistic qualifications of Mr. Lanchester. One dictum he sets forth on the subject of scale is of special interest to students of the American city. He says that it is too often laid down that buildings may be as high as the street is wide, but this is absolutely the worst proportion that could be chosen aesthetically. The two types of streets that he considers are most impressive are those lanes and streets of the canyon type, and those that are spacious and open. "The first demands buildings at least half as high again as the width, while in the second the heights may not exceed two thirds of the street width." Here we have a statement that gives a new meaning to the zoning regulation of New York which prescribed heights of one and one-half times the width of the street as the maximum height over large areas.

Mr. Lanchester accepts the city as an essential part of the national economy and makes the claim which will be challenged by many, that the actions and reactions of great cities are necessary to produce the keenness of mentality in the few which gives vigor and force to the nation. For this, he says, the great cities exist.

Mr. Lanchester does not think much can be done with the railways, and he would therefore turn his main attention to the highway as the opportunity for the city planner. If, however, Mr. Lanchester had given us some constructive proposals relating to the architectural problems and opportunities connected with railway terminals and their approaches he would have added greatly to the value of his book. We need illustrations of how the aesthetic can be linked up with the utilitarian services of the city.

The notes on town planning in the British Dominions, and on the important subject of modern practice, are too superficial. One interesting comment appears with reference to practice in America. America, he says, "having discovered the artistic ineffectiveness of the gridiron plan, is endeavoring to extenuate this by supplementary radials and closed vistas." The statement that there is little likelihood of a world-wide uniformity in the technique of city planning is not likely to be questioned. As an art, city or town planning must develop in accordance with the temperament and traditions of each nation. Rapid increase of underground transit, such as exists in New York, is predicted. Cleanliness, ease, and protection from the weather are put forward as the advantages which would take the place of the absence of sunlight in two-decked streets of the future.

Near the close the author expresses the fatalistic doctrine that "until the situation becomes desperate there is little chance of reform." But he goes on to say that change in the form of cities is inevitable and that it is to the art of city planning that we must look for guidance as to how such changes can be given appropriate expression. This book discusses with profit to the reader some of the right modes of expression for the city and shows why the artist should be permitted to bring his imagination to bear upon its problems.

THOMAS ADAMS.

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE NOTES

EDITED BY ARCH MANDEL

Executive Committee Meeting.—On December 30, last, the Executive Committee of the Research Conference met in New York, the full committee being present. The general plans for the 1926 meeting were proposed and discussed and progress was reported.



Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.—The Detroit Bureau has just made public a report on school building construction in that city, covering the years 1919 to 1924, inclusive. This study was made at the request of the Detroit Board of Education, which wanted to get an impartial appraisal of the need for the extensive building program completed, as well as the cost of constructing the buildings. The study was in answer to the questions as to whether Detroit was spending too much money on school buildings, either because of too extensive a program or because of too high cost in the construction of its buildings.

R. L. Humbert, who has taken a master's degree in municipal administration at the University of Michigan, and who for six months was connected with the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, has been appointed Secretary of the Harrisonburg Chamber of Commerce, Harrisonburg, Va., to take effect January 1.

The Detroit Bureau is now discussing with the city officials an audit of the special assessment sinking fund and a survey of the methods of collecting special assessments. It was pointed out that a saving of \$75,000 a year could be accomplished by very minor changes in the present procedure. The report deals with a subject that does not engage the attention of many students of governmental methods and may contain some suggestions of use to other research bureaus.

S. E. Rose of the Detroit Bureau was made secretary of the Mayor's traffic committee, which committee is making a continuous study of the Detroit traffic situation. Rose's services are loaned by the Detroit Bureau.



Kansas City Public Service Institute.—The Institute is co-operating with the administrative code committee of the new council in studies

preliminary to the drafting of the administrative code, provision for which is made in the new charter. It is planned to have the code ready for adoption by the new council when it takes office April 10.

Work has been begun on a general study of the government of Jackson County, looking toward a general reorganization. The first work being done covers the legal phases and the general organization. A study of the county road situation will probably be under way very shortly. This has the additional purpose of determining the need for a suggested increase in the tax rate for road purposes.

Bond issues were voted for rehabilitation of the fire department and for large additions to the city hospital system. Studies are being made in co-operation with the Citizens' Bond Advisory Council as to the best use to which the funds voted can be put.



Newark Bureau of Research.—The question of non-voting and permanent registration is being considered by this organization. J. B. Blandford, secretary, prepared an informational report on voting, in which he brought together data from various sources, showing the percentage of citizens voting in Newark and in other cities of the United States. The report also contains a discussion of permanent registration, how it works and where it has been adopted. No recommendations have as yet been made, but the ultimate purpose will probably be the introduction of a bill in the present session of the New Jersey legislature, providing for permanent registration.

Since the endorsement of the council-manager plan by the membership of the Chamber of Commerce, the Newark Bureau has been actively engaged in developing a campaign of education. In general, this campaign is divided into two distinct stages, the first stage being more especially informative and the second, the actual campaign for adoption.

To further the work of this first phase of the campaign, the Chamber has taken on a civic secretary, who will spend much of his time in the

preparation of literature and in arranging for meetings to be addressed. Already, Chamber representatives have appeared before a number of organizations.

Two pamphlets were prepared and a third is now in the process of preparation. The first pamphlet outlines the structure of the plan, reciting its advantages, certain misconceptions, and also a summary of the New Jersey municipal manager law. The second pamphlet is more especially designed to meet the criticism that this plan of government is suitable only to small cities. This is done by describing in some detail the progress of the movement into fifteen of the large cities of the country. The third piece of literature will list the endorsement of the manager plan by outstanding representatives of labor, business, political science, women's organizations and the like.



New York Institute for Public Service.—William H. Allen, director, has arranged with a leading newspaper syndicate to try out a series of syndicated brevities on governmental research and other civic co-operation with municipal and state governmental officers. At the outset, these brevities will deal chiefly with successes in watching the taxpayer's dollar. Among the most helpful kinds of watching will be included that which helps get needed work well done. Effort will be made to use material in ways that will help local agencies which furnish the material, as well as other agencies which may be stimulated by reports of success in neighboring cities.



National Institute of Public Administration.—On December 18, last, the regular annual meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Institute was held. Members of the Board present were Richard S. Childs, R. Fulton Cutting, Raymond B. Fosdick, Vernon Kellogg, Frank O. Lowden, Carl Pforzheimer, E. R. A. Seligman.

Luther Gulick presided at the round table on municipal administration at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, held at Columbia University, December 28 to 30. A number of the Institute staff attended the meeting.

Dr. Carl E. McCombs has just completed some special work on the organization and administration of the penal agencies and institutions of New York State for the special commit-

tee on state prisons of the Hughes State Reorganization Commission.

Bruce Smith spoke before the Rotary Club of Hoboken, December 30, on police administration. He presented his report on police administration in St. Louis, Kansas City and St. Joseph, to the Missouri Association for Criminal Justice. In collaboration with Leonard V. Harrison of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, he has prepared for the National Crime Commission a report on forms and procedure for a state system of criminal complaint records.

The Institute has undertaken a study of the taxation of port authority property, at the request of Senator Courtlandt Nicoll of the New York State Senate. Information has been obtained from various ports in the United States and the ports of London, Liverpool and Montreal. William Bassett, Philip Cornick, and Luther Gulick are in charge of the study.



Toledo Commission of Publicity and Efficiency.—C. A. Crosser, secretary of the Commission of Publicity and Efficiency of Toledo, Ohio, has been appointed secretary of the Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research to succeed Clarence Young, who goes to Philadelphia as an assistant director of aviation for the Sesqui-centennial Exposition.

Mr. Crosser has been with the Commission of Publicity and Efficiency since 1922. The Des Moines Bureau is privately endowed and has completed a number of important investigations in the last few years.

A proposal to make members of the city plan commission of Toledo elective and giving that body authority to approve or revoke all city contracts in excess of \$10,000 has been disapproved by the commission of publicity and efficiency, following investigation. The commission obtained the opinions of a number of authorities on city planning, who were all practically unanimous in asserting that the function of a city plan commission is purely advisory and should not be burdened with administrative powers.



Political Research Bureau, New York.—Beginning with the new year, the Political Research Bureau, T. David Zuckerman, director, disassociates itself from the New York County Committee and becomes an adjunct of the Republican State Committee of New York. The chief interest of the Bureau for this year, at least,

will be matters of state finances. The Bureau is also expected, however, to devote a certain amount of its time to the needs of the local organization, and expects to render material assistance to Mrs. Ruth Pratt, the first woman member of the Board of Aldermen of New York City.



Citizens' Research Institute of Canada.—The first number of the annual cost of government in Canada series has been published.

A report dealing with relation of taxation to net production, showing comparative figures of Canada, United States, Australia and Great Britain, is in course of preparation, and will be published in January.

Completion of figures relating to urban municipalities in Canada, population between 400 and 2,000, for the Institute's Red Book, is in progress.



Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research.—During the month, the Bureau has continued to co-operate with the local Board of Trade, Rotary Club and other citizen organizations, in an effort to increase the percentage of voting efficiency at the forthcoming municipal elections. Addresses on voting have been given by the director and members of the staff before Service Clubs, Ratepayers' Association, etc.

The Bureau has published a bulletin, giving a résumé of the work of the city council and board of control for the year 1925.



San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research.—The principal activities of this organization at present are as follows:

Public improvement revolving fund: study of procedure possible under recently adopted charter amendment providing for bond issues, exclusive of bonded debt limitations, the proceeds of which are to be used as a revolving fund for financing street work and other public improvements. Fund to be reimbursed by special assessments, and bond interest and redemption to be paid therefrom.

Population study: development of an estimate of population, based upon all pertinent factors such as water service connections, dwelling construction, school attendance, street car passengers, etc.

Municipal railway finances: study of proposed changes in financial set up of municipal railway, relating particularly to depreciation reserves.

Evaluation of utilities: study of evaluation

proceedings now under way by the State Railroad Commission, in connection with possible purchase of existing utilities by the city.



Institute for Government Research.—The Institute for Government Research has recently brought out four new volumes in its regular series of publications under the imprint of the Johns Hopkins Press.

The first of these is entitled, "The Statistical Work of the United States Government," a volume of 574 pages, largely descriptive in nature, the title being self explanatory. This volume is number eleven in the series, "Studies in Administration," and is the work of Laurence F. Schmeckebier.

The other three volumes are numbers 21, 35 and 36 of the "Service Monographs of the United States Government," including the history, activities and organization of the services dealt with. These monographs are respectively, "The Children's Bureau" (83 pp.), by James A. Tobey; "The Bureau of Standards" (299 pp.), by Gustavus A. Weber; and "The Government Printing Office" (143 pp.), by Laurence F. Schmeckebier.

In addition to the staff work on the above and other volumes, some of which are in press, and assistance to certain Federal departments in the installation of improved accounting procedure, the Institute has been giving assistance to the Governor of North Carolina in the work of reclassification of salaries and grades and the improvement of accounting methods in connection with budgetary reforms.



China.—Announcement has been received of the establishment of the National Institute of Self-Government, of China. This Institute has been projected for a number of years, but has been deferred owing to the unsettled political condition. The Institute is under the direction of Dr. Carson Chang, a student of high repute in China. Its work will be divided into four sections having to do with national, state, city and rural administration. A Bureau of Municipal Research has been established in connection with the Institute and is under the direction of Mr. H. C. Tung, formerly a student of Municipal Administration at the University of Michigan. The address of the Institute of Self-Government is Woosungtseng, Kiangsu, China, and an exchange of publications with other Bureaus of Municipal Research is invited. Please note.

NOTES AND EVENTS

EDITED BY A. E. BUCK

Buffalo Adopts Zoning Ordinance.—The city council of Buffalo, New York, has unanimously adopted a zoning ordinance. This ordinance divides the city into residential, business and factory districts, and provides for a board of appeals. When it becomes effective, applications for permits for buildings, garages, gasoline stations, factories, and so forth, heretofore passed upon by the city council will go to the building commissioner for approval.



Federal Reclamation Payments Far in Arrears.—Thousands of water users of federal irrigation projects have asked for deferment of payments due the national government during the fiscal year of 1925. During the last five years there has been a progressive decrease in payments made on certain projects. Delinquencies from this period amount to the staggering total of \$8,500,000. Arrears in payments for 1924 alone amounted to more than \$3,000,000.

The commissioner of the bureau of reclamation points out that the theory of federal reclamation is that it shall be self-supporting. The money spent to build irrigation works is to be returned to the government. Water users are to pay all the costs of operation.

Seven irrigation projects have paid more than 85 per cent of the charges and assessments. Seventeen have paid more than half. The payments of the remainder are so inadequate and the morale of the settlers on some is so low that measures will have to be taken to check the downward course toward insolvency.

It is estimated that the lands irrigated from federal reclamation works in 1924 produced crops worth nearly \$110,000,000, an increase of \$7,000,000 over the previous year. On the projects proper 1,216,610 acres were cropped, the gross value of all crops being \$66,488,000, or \$54.65 per acre. Water was also supplied under the Warren act contracts to 889,640 acres, which produced crops having a gross value of \$43,237,000, or \$49.28 per acre.



The Len Small Case.—The decision of the Illinois Supreme Court that Gov. Len Small, when state treasurer in 1917-18, withheld from

the state perhaps two millions in interest on its funds and must now account for the money has been expected. The Circuit Court gave the same verdict a year ago. A master in chancery who made a special report reached the same conclusion. Public sentiment has never had much doubt of the facts. The evidence indicated that Treasurer Small had taken about \$29,000,000 in state funds and through a dummy bank had loaned it to four Chicago packing companies at from 5 to 8½ per cent interest, meanwhile paying the state not more than 2 per cent.

This decision throws a significant light backward upon the criminal trial of Small in 1922 and upon his reelection in 1924. If he withheld this money he withheld it fraudulently. Yet his trial on four criminal indictments ignominiously broke down. Three of the indictments were quashed on technicalities—that for embezzlement because the foreman of the grand jury had signed his name in the wrong spot. Documentary evidence disappeared. Witnesses hastily left the state. The Chicago press was outspoken in its declarations that jurymen had been promised favors which Gov. Small subsequently conferred. Now the suspicion that there was a miscarriage of justice will be redoubled, for the same evidence was used in the civil as in the criminal suit. As for the reelection, last year the voters knew all the charges against Small. Yet they gave him 345,000 plurality.

The court's findings are damaging to Gov. Small. But the people of Illinois may well wonder if they do not do damage in other quarters as well.—*Editorial from the New York World.*



Zoning Upheld by the New York Courts.—While the courts of New Jersey are breaking down the zoning plan, the courts of New York are gradually strengthening it. In New Jersey the courts declare that neither the state legislature nor local councils can prevent stores in residence districts. In New York the courts say they will uphold zoning wherever its application is reasonable. In New Jersey the courts take the subject out of the hands of legislative

bodies. In New York the courts wisely allow legislatures to legislate.

The Court of Appeals at Albany has from the beginning of zoning shown sympathy with the efforts of cities to organize themselves for the health, safety and welfare of the community. It has upheld old principles but recognized new applications of them.

Three decisions of this court have been monumental in the field of zoning. They establish zoning in this state, and are cited throughout the country as impregnable declarations of the law.

The first case is *Lincoln Trust Co. vs. Williams Bldg. Corp.*, 229 N. Y. 313, decided in 1920, which holds that reasonable zoning is lawful and that zoning regulations do not constitute encumbrances on land. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the reservation usual in title policies and contracts to the effect that the land is subject to the regulations of a building zone ordinance, is in this state unnecessary, obsolete and improper.

The second great case is *People ex rel. Sheldon vs. Board of Appeals*, 234 N. Y. 484, decided in 1923, which upholds broad powers of variance in boards of appeals, subject to court review. This opinion establishes the machinery for effective zoning. It puts the safety valve where it belongs. The courts when they review the decisions of the board of appeals iron out the arbitrary instances instead of declaring the regulations unconstitutional. Zoning is placed on the firm basis of court adjustment the same as the assessment of property for taxation.

The third and latest case and perhaps the most complete vindication of zoning ever written is *Matter of Wulfsohn vs. Burden* (Mt. Vernon) handed down on November 24, 1925, and not yet officially printed. The opinion specifically upholds the lawfulness of regulating new apartment houses in open residence districts by compelling 50-foot setbacks from the street, upholds zoning for the general welfare, and in general supports reasonable zoning all along the line, giving for the first time full reasons for the attitude of the court and building up a complete and irresistible argument which is the last word in zoning in this country.

EDWARD M. BASSETT.

✱

Traffic Regulation in Washington, D. C.—Complete divorcing of traffic regulation from the police department and placing this work entirely under the jurisdiction of a traffic director is

being considered by the city of Washington, according to a recent issue of the *Engineering News-Record*. A few years ago the lack of an adequate system of traffic regulation in Washington had brought about a serious condition in that city and to relieve that situation during 1925, M. O. Eldridge, an engineer, was appointed traffic director. Under his competent administration a system of regulation has been developed and is in operation which has gone far to improve traffic conditions in that city. In addition to an executive assistant, who is likewise an engineer, the traffic director has at his immediate command ten policemen under assignment, but the traffic squad, comprising from seventy to eighty members, is independent of his direction.

In commenting editorially on the work of Director Eldridge, the *Engineering News-Record* states:

His lot is far from happy, because of the law which still makes him dependent upon the police for the execution of his plans. He may order, for instance, a certain traffic sign for a certain corner, and that order must go through the routine of the police department to emerge a week or so later as an altogether different sign on an altogether different corner. He may have a special rule which he wishes enforced, but for the patrolmen to enforce the rule he is dependent upon the desire and will of the police.

In other words the new law goes only part of the way toward a rational solution of traffic control. It is not necessary to criticize the police department of Washington to say that as things are now the law is far from perfect. So far as information goes, there is no conflict between Mr. Eldridge and the police. They may be in perfect sympathy. But a police department is a complex thing, subject to many inner promptings and outward influences, and one of the things that it is not congenitally fitted for is co-operation.

One important step forward was made in Washington in providing a traffic director of technical background instead of the usual police sergeant or lieutenant, whose desires for rational thinking on traffic are more often than not overwhelmed by the traditions of his trade, but the experiment will not be complete until amendment is provided whereby the director has his own traffic squad in sufficient number and of sufficient power to supervise traffic everywhere and enforce rules that are made.

While endorsing the soundness of the editor's comment concerning the requirements of effective regulation of traffic, the question might be raised as to whether divorcing traffic control from the police department is the logical solution of the problem. It is true that the development of any system of traffic regulation at present involves

important engineering problems. These should be undertaken and directed by competent engineers. It is equally true that traffic control is primarily a police function. There would certainly seem to be sound objections against delegating police functions in a city to a body entirely independent of the police department.

"Lucio" comments humorously on this subject in a recent copy of the *Manchester Guardian*, as follows:

AMATEURS ALL

Moved by some proud but quaint caprice,
The butchers formed their own police.

At once and with no more ado
The grocers formed a body, too.

And then the bakers could not dwell
Without their own police as well.

The tailors then enrolled direct
Their own constabulary sect.

The fashion spread; you never saw
Such fury to uphold the law.

The brewer, lawyer, doctor, priest,
Each vowed he must be self-policed;

The farmer, postman, draper, clerk,
Must all upon his course embark;

Until there was no single trade
Without its army on parade.

And each of all these gallant corps
Most earnestly and loudly swore

That only its self-righteous arm
Could keep the threatened State from harm.

* * * * *

The Real Policeman scratched his head:
"Rum compliment to me," he said.

The difficulties in the Washington situation would appear on the surface to be matters of practice rather than principle. Is it sound doctrine that a police department is congenitally unfitted for co-operation? It would seem possible to effect an arrangement whereby a competent engineer could be appointed as a deputy commissioner of police directly in charge of developing and possibly operating a system of traffic regulation for any city and at the same time be in a position to have the benefit of the experience of his associates in the department in the vexatious police work of enforcing traffic regulations.

W. A. BASSETT.

Municipal Expansion in Germany.—Judging from the two introductory articles in the October (1925) issue of the *Zeitschrift für Kommunalwirtschaft*, it is clear that the lines are being very definitely drawn by the proponents of the independent suburb and the proponents of the ever expanding municipality. Several important forces have allied themselves with the inhabitants of the small town who would maintain separate identity. Among these are the city planners and governmental agencies. Among the latter, the Ministry of Public Welfare has recently given directions to local governmental heads to the effect that the subsidies of the state for the erection of dwellings should be distributed preferably among the suburban and small town communities which are serving as settlements for city dwellers anxious to leave the cities.

A recent bill proposed by the Prussian Minister of Welfare follows the same general principle, indicating that suburbs shall be incorporated only when there is no other solution possible. Added to this is the emphatic recommendation that communities should maintain their full communal independence.

The writers of these two articles adopt diametrically opposite positions with reference to the same features of municipal life. One argues for decentralization for most municipal functions, while the other argues that through centralization better standards can be maintained. Specific reference is made by both to health, public utilities, industrial expansion and dwellings.

The proponent of independence of suburbs points to water, gas, electricity and local transportation as being well handled on inter-communal lines; furthermore, up-to-date city-planning increasingly ignores the city boundaries and partakes of the character of regional planning.

The opponent of decentralization on the other hand urges the costliness and inadequacy of the public services under inter-communal control and refers to water, sewage, park and other special districts.

There is a similar locking of horns with respect to the amount of what might be called local patriotism and civic consciousness, the one claiming that the large city with its "rage de nombre" brings about a dilution of civic interest and understanding to the end that the metropolitan city is "a city without homes." The defendant of the necessity of growth in large cities laughs this objection to scorn as he points to the valuable social work and unusual accomplishments

that are to be found only in great municipal centers.

The reader of the two articles is not likely to have his own convictions greatly altered by either, as neither writer offers statistical data in support of his contentions. The articles may be looked upon as a preliminary skirmish to what promises to become a conflict of serious proportions, both in Germany and elsewhere.

W. E. MOSHER.



Training in Municipal Government and Affairs at the University of Paris.—A special institute was established in connection with the University of Paris in 1920 to provide courses in municipal government and affairs. It functions under the faculty of laws but with intimate connections with the institute of history, geography and municipal economics of the city of Paris. In a very broad way the instruction covers all fields of municipal economy beginning with the evolution of the city itself, its social, administrative and economic organization and the art and technique of city planning and construction. Special supplementary conferences are arranged for dealing with hygiene, public service, maintenance of order, municipal engineering and the like. This program covers a period of two years. It is topped off by an examination at the end of

both the first and second years and, after an acceptable thesis has been prepared, a diploma is awarded.

A second type of course has to do with the further training of administrative officials already in office and the preparation of those who are looking forward to employment in the higher positions under a mayor.

Special provision is made both for civil employees and those from a foreign country whereby personal attendance at courses may be curtailed and thus the sojourn in Paris itself be reduced to a minimum. Library facilities and reference assistance are made available to the members of the institute.

The number of students enrolled in 1919 was 294, in 1922 there were 326, in 1924 there were 153. In this last group there were 27 foreigners representing 11 different nationalities, including students from China, Egypt and Argentina.

In the advanced section, designed for those already placed in the public service, there were 91 students in 1924-25 and 52 of these were employed directly by mayors.

The administrative council of the institute consists of the Rector of the Academy, the President and members designated by the University, the Counsel General and the Prefect of the Seine.

W. E. MOSHER.